

**THE INFLUENCE OF DOGMA ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE  
RUSSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM: A STUDY IN TIME  
PERSPECTIVE**

by

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that ***The influence of dogma on the evolution of the Russian education system: a study in time perspective*** is my own work and that all the sources which were used or quoted by me have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....H.C. Price.....

.....14/09/95.....

**SIGNATURE**

**DATE**

(Mrs H C Price)

## FOREWORD

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, professor S.L.H. Van Niekerk for her incisive criticism and comments. Her guidance and support have been invaluable.

The following people have provided me with information which has given me greater insight into the Soviet education system, through their own experiences of it:

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Grateful thanks to my husband Patrick for his patience in helping with the technological aspects of word processing and printing.

## **DEDICATION**

Dedicated to my mother and my late father, Dr H.C. Slabbert, to Patrick for his love and support, and to Adrienne and Joshua for their patience.

## SUMMARY

Education systems are influenced by belief systems. Russia has throughout its history been guided by two rigid dogmatic belief systems:

- ♦ the Russian Orthodox Church
- ♦ the Communist ideology

While other influences also prevailed, notably autocracy, humanism and nationalism, these were secondary to the dogma of the Church in the centuries preceding the Revolution in 1917. Autocracy could be regarded as an outflow of the dogma of the Church, which had established its links with the ruling elite early in its history, whereas the others originated from other sources and for other reasons.

This study in the history and development of the Russian education system traces its origins back into the inchoate beginnings of the Russian nation and attempts to show how:

- ♦ the *Zeitgeist* of a particular era led to the development of a particular dogmatic belief system
- ♦ the *Zeitgeist* and the dogmatic beliefs influenced the figures who determined educational policies and reforms

## OPSOMMING

Onderwysstelsels word beïnvloed deur 'n bepaalde denksisteem. So byvoorbeeld is Rusland deur die geskiedenis deur rigiede dogmatiese denksisteme gelei. Gelyklopend daarmee was daar ook ander denksisteme wat 'n invloed op die Russiese denke uitgeoefen het. Invloede soos outokrasie, humanisme en nasionalisme was egter sekondêr tot die dogmatiese invloede van die Kerk in die eeue voor die Rewolusie van 1917. Outokrasie kan weliswaar as 'n uitvloeisel van die dogma van die Kerk, wat vroeg in die Russiese geskiedenis 'n verbintenis met die regerende elite gesmee het, beskou word.

Die onderhawige studie oor die ontwikkeling en verloop van die Russiese opvoedstelsel vind sy oorsprong in die beginjare van die Russiese volk en poog om aan te toon hoe:

- ♦ die *Zeitgeist* van 'n bepaalde era tot bepaalde dogmatiese denksisteme gelei het
- ♦ die *Zeitgeist* en dogmatiese denksisteme 'n invloed op die opvoedingsdenke en onderwyservormings van bepaalde historiese figure in die Russiese verlede uitgeoefen het

## KEY TERMS

- ♦ Autocracy
- ♦ Communism
- ♦ Dogma
- ♦ Education
- ♦ History
- ♦ Nationalism
- ♦ Orthodoxy
- ♦ Post-Communist education
- ♦ Russia
- ♦ Soviet education

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## CHAPTER 1

### ORIENTATION

#### 1.1 PROLOGUE

The mobility and the polar nature of the Russian past is clearly reflected in the following quotation: "The historical record of Soviet Russia is ... replete with paradoxes. More than in the case of any other modern state, the history of the USSR has been one of progress and yet also of privation and repression; of ideological enthusiasm and yet of widespread suffering and popular indifference to the official faith. No other ideology in modern times has been so cosmopolitan in spirit and aims and has had such a world-wide appeal as the one officially enthroned in the Soviet Union, and yet nationalism has been the most potent force in the country's development and its salvation in moments of peril." (Ulam 1976:300)

Russia has also experienced great changes since 1991 when the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began fragmenting as one republic after another started to break away and become independent. Communism, as a dogma which has been the guiding policy of the government since 1917, was no longer a viable belief in terms of what the people wanted and in terms of Russia's economic situation. Russia has throughout the centuries been guided by its orientation to the various beliefs which existed at any given time. While this is not unusual, since all societies are shaped by their beliefs, the Russian nation has been characterised by a shift in ideological perspective so dramatic as to be quite different from other nations.

The power vested in the ruling authority has always been total and their beliefs frequently manifested as repressive laws which served to ensure that

the status quo was maintained. Some of these laws extended to education in particular and what is so intriguing to the Western mind is the way in which the dogmatic beliefs of the ruling elite were used to further their aims, especially in education.

The dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 has led to a revolution of a different kind and has been as cataclysmic as the revolution in 1917, but for a different reason: "Right now, a revolution is unfolding in Russia that is marked by economic collapse, political instability and social chaos." (Abatemarco 1994:4) The encompassing dogma of Marxism, the guiding ideological reason for the very existence of the Russian people is no more and in its place is a void which is adding to the feeling of rootlessness and lack of direction among the Russian people. For a people accustomed to a society in which their everyday lives were controlled by the dogma of the ruling elite, it seems likely that capitalism will fill the void left by communism, failing that, a military regime is the most probable scenario. (Pearce 1994:73)

Education in Russia was shaped by the dogma of the rulers throughout the centuries and its development was often retarded and sometimes improved as a result of these beliefs. Russian education is a cross-roads at present because despite the high standard of education, it is far behind the developments that characterise Western education, namely, vocational and technological education. If Russia intends to compete with the West it will have to initiate radical changes in its educational policy and strategy in order to cope with the demands made by the changing economy and technological needs of the country. The people need to be given something to believe in and something to strive for, for a people without an ideology will create a nation of drifters.

South Africa has also been subjected to rigid dogmatic beliefs which had a direct bearing on its educational policies. The Christian National Education policies which played such a decisive role in suppressing the development of education for black students during the rule of the National Party from 1948 to 1994, are in the process of being replaced by an all-embracing policy which will include all racial groups residing within the borders of South Africa. While some changes are easily implemented, for example the changing of textbooks which will reflect a different perspective especially in the subject History (Van der Merwe 1995:1; also 1995:2), others, such as a change in attitude to reflect the shift in perspective from a Eurocentric one to an Afrocentric perspective, will take longer to implement and will involve the retraining of teachers. (Hartley 1994:4) The new educational policy will have to reflect the beliefs of the new government, which will no doubt reflect the needs and the aspirations of a people who wish to correct the imbalances of the past in terms of the standard of education offered to the entire spectrum of needs and abilities of the school-going population.

While superficial parallels may be observed regarding the change in perspective in Russia and South Africa as far as the influence of dogma on education is concerned, South Africa could perhaps take note of the current changes in Russian education and learn from their current history.

## **1.2 ACTUALITY OF THE RESEARCH**

The provisional supposition is that the education system in Russia developed according to the beliefs that predominated among the ruling elite at whichever time they held power, whether it be the autocratic czars, whose beliefs were firmly rooted in the notion that they were God's representatives on earth, (Walters 1990:108) or the leaders of the Communist Party who enforced their beliefs through the process of education. The question as to why the study

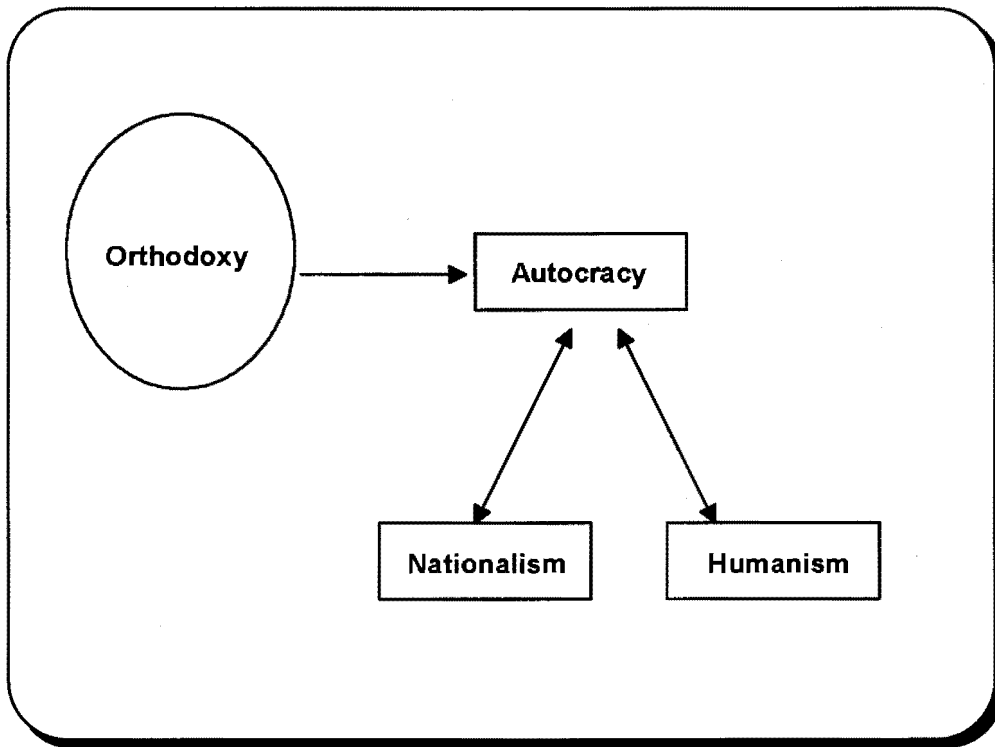
involves a look at the influence of dogma and not any other variable or influence is that

- ♦ dogma is a belief system which shapes man's perception of *what* and *who* he is
- ♦ dogma is subject to change: it is not static and is influenced by the *Zeitgeist* which is a powerful intangible force which dictates social perceptions, beliefs and attitudes

It is necessary to look at what these beliefs are, since Russian Orthodoxy was not the only belief system which influenced the monarchy but it was the most enduring dogma in that it influenced the czars in their perception of who they were and what rights they had. Other beliefs, such as in the supremacy of the monarchy (i.e. autocracy), nationalism and humanism, interplayed with the overriding belief in the dogma of the Russian Orthodox Church. Communism was a separate belief altogether. (See figure 1)

In order to obtain a clear and holistic view of the problem, a great deal of historical detail needs to be included:

- ♦ historical detail reveals why certain historical figures acted and thought the way they did
- ♦ the development of education was dependent on the way the historical figures thought and the decisions they made regarding the development of education
- ♦ the education system evolved over several centuries and grew as a result of historical events which occurred during those times



**Figure 1: Schematic representation of interrelated dogmas**

A careful examination of the educational past in terms of the rulers who propagated the dogmatic beliefs needs to be made. Since the beliefs of these rulers are rooted in a socio-historical context, the historical background of Russia itself is of central importance to the understanding and interpretation of the development of education in Russia. The aspirations and problems of a country are inextricably linked to its past and this past shapes their perceptions and world view. It has thus been necessary to obtain a global historical view of Russia prior to examining the people who shaped the development of education.

The relevance of this study may be seen as :

- ♦ to understand the influence of dogma on the development of education in Russia
- ♦ providing insight to the current socio-political changes in Russia



- ♦ to predict future trends in education in Russia
- ♦ to clarify the direction South African education needs to take in view of the socio-political changes which have occurred here since the Government of National Unity came into power in May 1994

### **1.3 FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM**

Education exists for a multitude of reasons, the most obvious being to provide a country with educated citizens or a labour force which can fulfil the needs of the economy. Education is culture-bound. Culture, in turn, is closely associated with the religion of a country. A dogma, whether it be a religious one, such as Catholicism, or a dogma which is secular in nature, such as nationalism, influences man's life-view and this reflected in the educational strategies and policies of a country.

In order to establish whether the development of education in Russia was influenced by the existence of dogmatic beliefs, the following questions need to be examined:

- ♦ what is the nature of the relationship between the existence of dogma and the development of education in Russia?
- ♦ what were the dogmatic influences?
- ♦ how did dogma affect the development of that system?

These questions need to be studied in the context of the times in which the development of education occurred, for the following reasons:

- ♦ dogma does not develop in a vacuum: it is dependent on social, political, geographical and religious influences
- ♦ education does not develop in a vacuum: it has an interdependent relationship with the society in which it develops

It is therefore necessary to undertake a thorough study of the past and its influences and to establish the connection between the existing and previous dogmatic influences on the development of education in Russia.

## **1.4 DELIMITATION OF RESEARCH**

### **1.4.1 Time as a factor**

The past is the key to the present and by understanding the past and the reasons that education developed the way it did in Russia we gain better insight into the present educational trends in modern-day Russia. For this reason the study spans all three time perspectives, viz.

- ♦ the past and all its historical significance
- ♦ the present and the changes that are occurring
- ♦ the future and likely trends, taking into account the past and the present

This dissertation will cover the development of the Russian education system from the inception of its origins up to the present time of troubles and change. Russia will be looked at as a whole rather than individual states which comprised the former Soviet Republic from 1917 to 1994 (referred to as the Russian Federation from 1993), since such a study will have to encompass far more than could be accomplished through a mere dissertation at this level of study. Education after the Revolution of 1917 was ruled from Moscow and it was intended that all the Soviet Socialist Republics should follow the same syllabi.

### **1.4.2 Reasons for choice of topic**

Two questions which may be asked are

- ♦ why was Russia chosen as the country to study?
- ♦ why was the specific time chosen?

Russia has a unique history and its development as far as education was concerned, differed from that of Europe due to several factors (outlined in Chapter 2). The time period in which the study is set extends from circa 980 (which marks the time when the Russians converted to Christianity) to 1994 because the historical details of the country were essential in providing an adequate background to the development of education. The influence of dogmatic beliefs also need to be seen in context of the historical background of Russia in order to understand why education developed in the way it did.

## **1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH**

### **1.5.1 Aims of research**

The specific aim of this dissertation is to establish what the influence of dogma was on the evolution of the Russian education system and how this affected its development. Russia had always lagged behind the West as far as its educational policies were concerned since it was xenophobic and seldom tolerated outside influences. Thus the period covered in this dissertation will be circa 980 up to 1994 to encompass the development of its education from the earliest time of Russia's history.

No education system has evolved without the guidance of a belief system, whether it stems from the dogma of the Church, dictated by the needs and demands of the economy, or the overriding nationalistic and imperialistic policies of kings or politicians. Education, except for a brief period when it was regarded as a luxury to be indulged in by the wealthy who could afford to be "idle", has always been in response to a belief that, whatever the credence is, people can be made to follow it through education. These belief systems would have shaped educational policy and development and for this reason

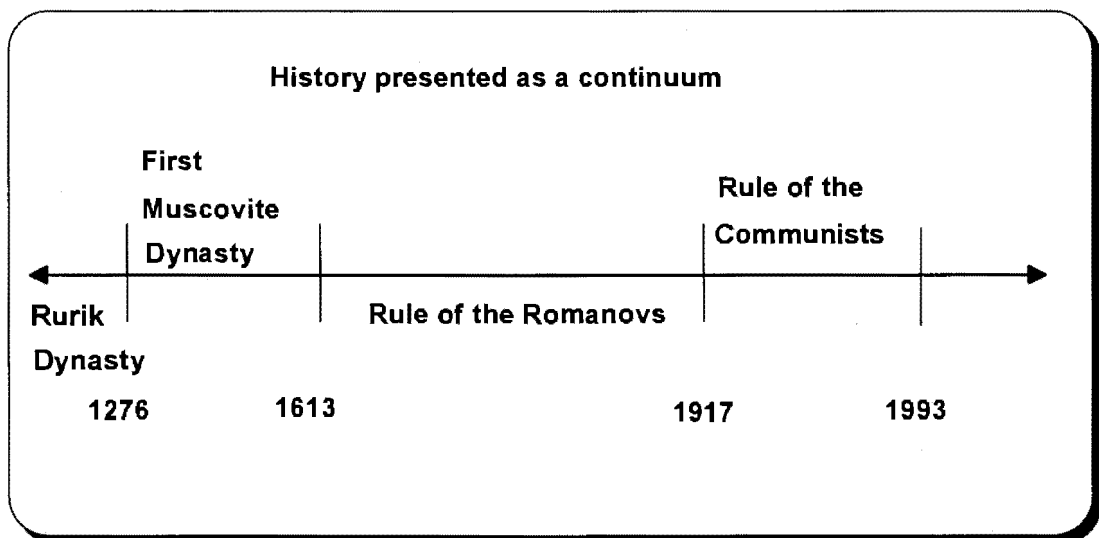
they need to be examined in a historical context to establish what they were and how they influenced the rulers of Russia.

The general aims are thus to

- ♦ objectively research and describe the evolution of the history of education in Russia
- ♦ determine what dogmatic beliefs influenced the rulers
- ♦ see how their dogmatic beliefs affected their decisions regarding education
- ♦ provide an objective evaluation of the implementation of educational policies under both the rule of the czars and the Communist regime

The following aims are presented in order to provide an orientation with regard to the historical progression:

- ♦ an explanation of the linear progression of the Russian past by means of the following representation:



**Figure 2: Linear representation of history of Russia**

- ♦ annotated tabular representations of the Rurik dynasty (from 980 to 1212), the Muscovite dynasty (1276 -1598) and the Romanov dynasty

(1613 - 1917) provide the reader with a ready reference as to who the most important rulers were in terms of the development of education in Russia:



**Figure 3: Annotated representation of the Rurik Dynasty**

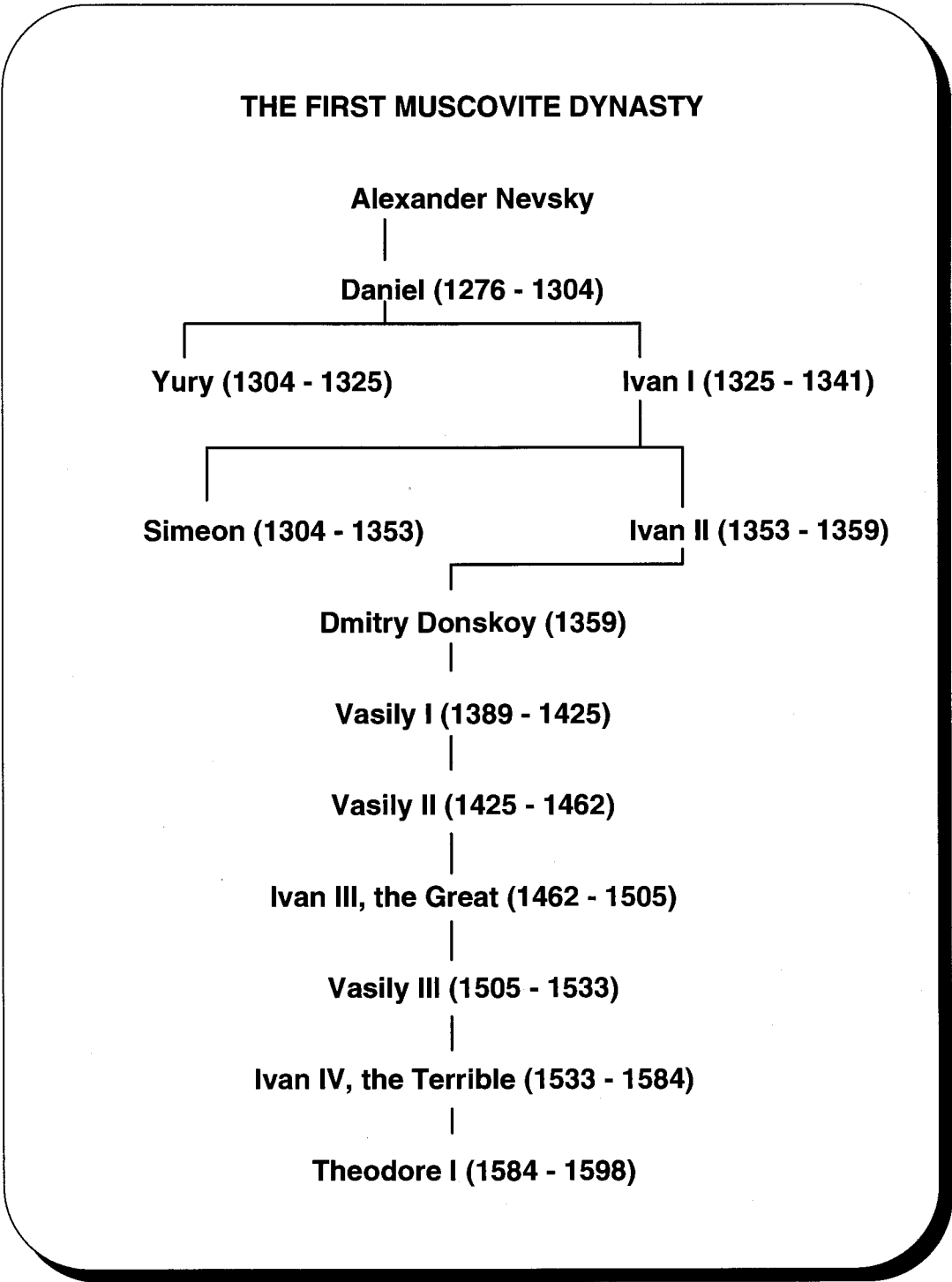


Figure 4: Annotated representation of the Moscow Dynasty

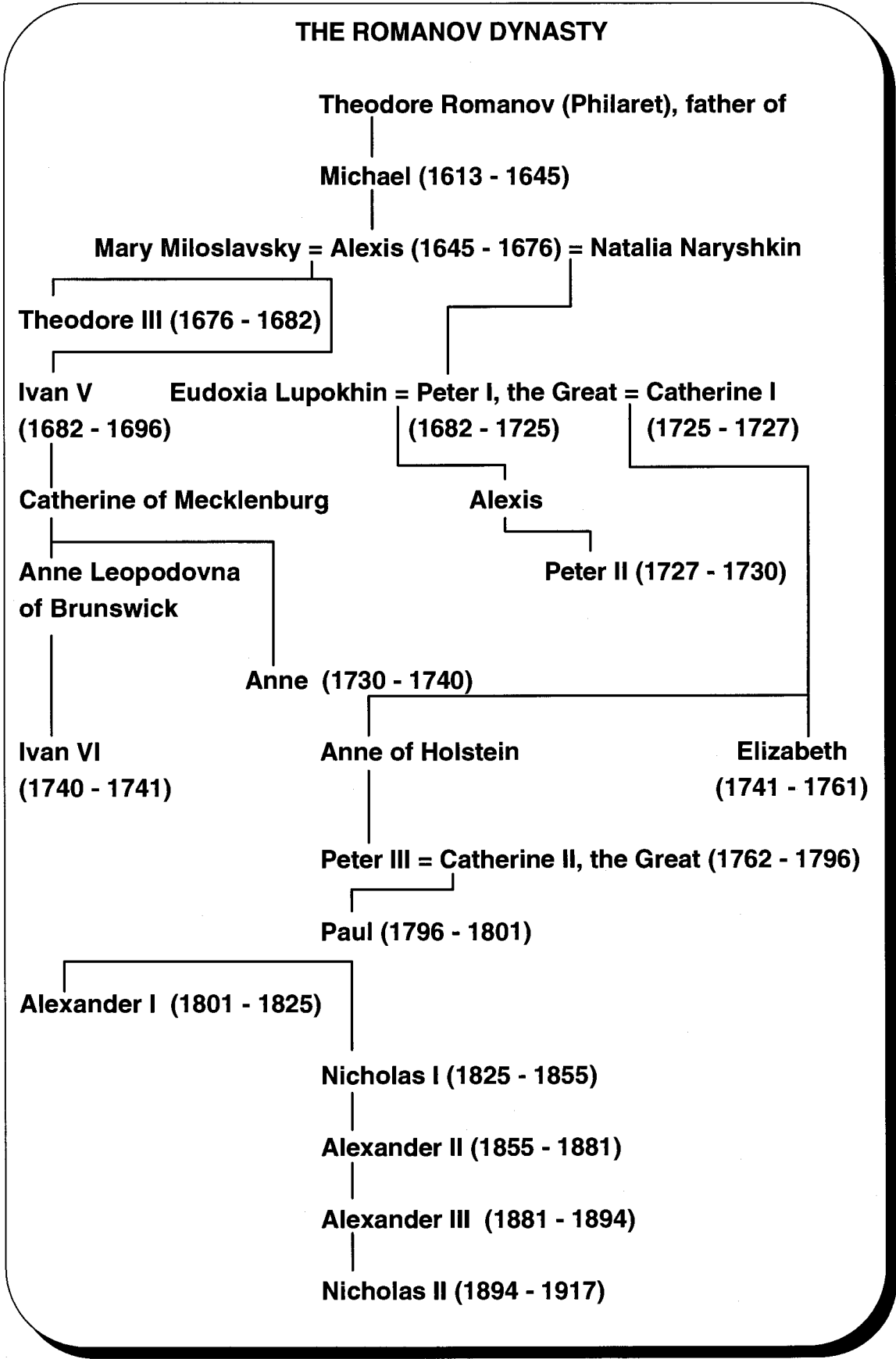


Figure 5: Annotated representation of the Romanov Dynasty

### 1.5.2 Objectives of research

The following research objectives will be covered to show how the relationship between the historical background and *Zeitgeist* and the implementation of dogma and its influence on education developed:

- ♦ chapter 2 provides general historical background to establish the *Zeitgeist* of the era 980 to circa 1613 and to reveal the importance and influence of Christianity on the development of not only Russia but, specifically, education
- ♦ chapter 3 outlines the growth in the development of education during the Romanov dynasty and to show to what extent dogma influenced educational development
- ♦ chapter 4 provides not only a background to the Communist era but also discusses the development of education under the last two Romanov czars
- ♦ chapter 5 has as its main objective an outline of the immense changes that occurred in education as a result of the dogma of the Communist Party
- ♦ chapter 6 is an evaluation comprising findings, conclusion and recommendations of the research topic

## 1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

While a study of the History of Education involves a study of history, its primary concern is education within the context of the historical background. Kruger (1992:5) states: "Die werksterrein van die Historiese Opvoedkunde is... op die gebied van die historiese geleë, maar dit is... in wese Pedagogiek - en beslis nie geskiedenis nie."



This means that while the researcher is concerned with the way in which education developed and what dogmatic influences affected this development, it is not the mere retelling of history but the analysis of causal factors which shaped the history of education in a given society. Venter & Van Heerden (1992:44) point out that "The practice of education has never been divorced from the society it stands to serve. In one respect, education has always occurred within a specific social framework which supplied it with an aim and function and, in another respect, education has always influenced the society within which it is rooted." Education and society are interrelated and cannot stand aloof of each other. They function to serve each other.

The History of Education involves, *inter alia*, the following four elements:

- ♦ pedagogics: This involves the interpretation of the phenomenon of education as it occurred historically, with the aim of revealing aspects of current educational practices, as well as predictions for the future
- ♦ area of concern: This involves the past by the very nature of the existence, but also includes the present and the future: "The historical is and will remain only an aid by means of which the pedagogical may be revealed in the historical context. Without this historical component, ... the study of education as it manifested itself through the ages - cannot become a reality." (Venter & Van Heerden 1992:43)
- ♦ content: This includes all spheres of the historical-pedagogic perspective, such as "...the social, the variable, the time-spatial, the personal and the antinomic." (Venter & Verster 1990:18)
- ♦ methodology and approaches: These include a variety of ways of approaching the subject and of dealing with it. (Venter & Verster 1990:18)

### 1.6.1 Approach

The *approach* taken by the researcher determines the angle from which he views his problem. (Venter & Verster 1990:36) This can affect the way he looks at the problem as well as his ultimate presentation of the facts.

The following approaches may be seen as having relevance in this study:

- ♦ the problem-historical approach
- ♦ the personal approach (also referred to as the anthropological approach)
- ♦ the chronological approach
- ♦ the phenomenological approach

These are discussed in more detail as they have direct bearing on the way in which the topic is researched and presented:

- ♦ the problem-historical approach: Scientific research does not begin with "factualities" but with the posing of a problem or the asking of a question. It could be as basic as an interest in a particular subject or idea. The asking of the purposeful question will be linked to the present, the past and the future, since the past will inevitably illuminate the present and provide a way of looking at the future
- ♦ the personal approach: This involves two different ways of questioning: general questioning and principal questioning. (Venter & Verster 1990:40)
  - general questioning starts from the supposition that every aspect of human life (including education) has significance and that it can contribute towards man's knowledge
  - principal questioning involves four principles which include anthropological reduction (asking what the value of man's culture

is); the organon principle (asking how man's culture has operated to produce culture); the interpretation of separate phenomena (asking how phenomena such as emotion and feelings contribute towards the totality of man) and the principle of the "open question" (here no direct question is involved; the assumption is that "... each human phenomenon has always contributed towards man's existence as a whole", therefore the question remains an open one). (Venter & Verster 1990:40-41)

- ♦ the personal approach thus involves a way of questioning which will enable the researcher to understand man from the perspective of the educational processes that occurred in the past and to understand the education of the past from the point of view of man. (Venter & Verster 1990:41) This approach involves the great historical figures of the past, who were responsible for the development of education. Kruger points out the following: "Daar word van die standpunt uitgegaan dat die tydlose pedagogiese beginsels in die daade en denke van die groot meesters teruggevind kan word." (1992:7) The importance of the approach is that there is a broadening and a deepening of the pedagogical question. (Pretorius 1985:7) This is accomplished by studying the central figures or role - players in the development of education in Russia and includes not only the rulers but also those who influenced the course of events in a historic and educational sense
- ♦ the chronological approach: In the synthesis of the material, the chronological approach has been used to simplify the presentation of the material. The advantage of this method, as Brickman (1982:182-183) points out, is that the reader can obtain a clearer idea of the development of an institution, such as the development of the education system of Russia. Since every ruler had his own ideas about

education and since the influence of the dogmatic decrees of the church and its influence on the ruler was a variable factor, it facilitated matters to use this particular method rather than the topical method to avoid repetitions and innumerable cross-references

- ♦ the phenomenological approach: This approach aims at analysing the characteristics of the development of education in the way it was experienced by man: "Phenomenological research is the exploration of *relations* involving the individual and his outside world... it is a study of the *dialogue between man and world*." (Venter & Verster 1990:42)

By virtue of the nature of the research conducted here, given the wide scope of the topic, the above-mentioned historico-educational and four approaches will be followed.

### **1.6.2 Method**

There are various research methodologies but since this study is not of a natural scientific nature, the historico-educational method will be used. This method involves the analysis of the past practices of education. It is also a way of interpreting, evaluating and investigating the present, with its attendant problems. (Pretorius 1985:5)

Venter (1986:23) gives a succinct explanation of the word *method*: its origins lie in the Greek word *methodos* which is derived from *meta* meaning *after* and *hodos*, meaning *a way*. "Method is ... a way of doing anything: the way one has to go to reach a set goal."

Brickman (1982:91) and Kruger (1992:11) outline historico-educational research method to be followed by the researcher. There are six steps in the process of research, namely:

- ♦ the selection and delimitation of the topic/research problem
- ♦ the accumulation of source materials
- ♦ the classification and criticism of source materials
- ♦ the consequent determination of the facts
- ♦ the presentation of the facts in a logically ordered form
- ♦ the writing/compilation of a research report

### **1.6.3 Problems arising from research**

Several problems which were encountered during the research of the topic need to be looked at more closely since they may potentially influence not only the research but also the presentation of the topic. They are as follows:

- ♦ sources
- ♦ statistics
- ♦ interpretation
- ♦ subjectivity
- ♦ influence
- ♦ *argementum ex silentio*

#### **1.6.3.1 Sources**

Education has developed in response to the needs of society and these needs were primarily identified by whoever was ruling whether it be a government, church or a monarch. One of the problems of doing historical research especially in this field of Russian education is the unavailability of primary sources, as they are difficult to obtain in South Africa.

The researcher has relied heavily on secondary material, i.e. sources which already provide interpretation and judgement. Limited use has been made of interviews with Russians living in this country. Correspondence with Russian academics in order to obtain first hand information about educational trends

and influences which are currently shaping the country, have brought limited results. Newspapers and overseas periodicals have often provided valuable background material in order to keep up to date with recent changes occurring in Russia.

#### **1.6.3.2 Statistics**

There is also a difficulty in giving accurate or correct statistics on enrolment and school-going population since they were largely neglected in writings on educational history. Brickman points out that: "Very frequently, delvers into educational conditions of earlier decades have either overlooked statistical data entirely or they have tended to accept them without due regard to their limitations as evidence." (Brickman 1982:157)

Statistics may be inaccurate since they are collected under conditions which are conducive to error at every stage of compilation. At worst statistics may be the result of manipulation of data in order to achieve a desired conclusion. This may be especially evident in reports which are frequently compiled by national governments on the status of illiteracy in their respective countries. Since this study intends to give a broad overview of the development of education rather than a detailed factual report on the enrolment figures and day-to-day running and maintenance of classes and schools, only two tables of statistics have been included since their relevance to the research topic is limited.

#### **1.6.3.3 Interpretation**

Historians tend to rely heavily on psychology in their interpretation of historical information: "The fact that behaviour is purposive is a tool that historians use in trying to understand the human factor in historical events."

(Mouly 1978:4) It stands to reason that the interpretation of any secondary source has to be verified by checking it against similar writings.

#### **1.6.3.4 Subjectivity**

Historical data cannot be compared to the materials of the physical sciences which are frequently reconstructed from nebulous and unverifiable sources. (Sidhu 1984:97)

The problem of subjectivity is problematic in such a study because biography is often prone to flattery. The ancient documents which relate to the lives of the Russian rulers are likely to contain many exaggerations favouring the czars. It is crucial to maintain a balance between objectivity and the development of meaningful historical perspective in this type of research. (Mouly 1978:169)

The researcher has to read as widely as possible in order to ascertain his facts and he has to establish the sources used by the authors by making a thorough study of the bibliography as well as details about the frequency of print and reviews by other scholars familiar with the subject. Brickman states that: "The general influence of a book can be traced by exploring thoroughly the extent of its diffusion; that is to say, one must determine the frequency of editions and reprints, the number of copies sold in the original and in translation, and related information obtainable from publication and library sources." (Brickman 1982:138)

#### **1.6.3.5 Influence**

Another factor to be considered is that of "influence". An author may be biased by his sources or by his own prejudices. Negative criticism stems from a person's mode of thinking or perhaps current socio-political bias, as in

the case of Russia, for so long the pariah of the world as a result of its communist policies. The researcher has to evaluate the data critically and to determine which, if any, sources could be influencing the author's interpretation of data and events. From one of the interviews that have been conducted it has become apparent that bias has indeed played an overwhelming role in so-called objective studies of the education system of Russia. (Lebedev 1994)

The *Zeitgeist* of the times also tend to favour certain biases or interpretations and this means that subjectivity is inevitably going to be found in the historical writings of the times.

#### **1.6.3.6 *Argementum ex silentio***

Another problem with books on this subject is that they are relatively few, and information often has to be gleaned from more general sources on the history of Russia, especially when it relates to the earlier centuries, when education was largely found in monasteries. Although this gives a better perspective of the general conditions prevalent at the time, which is a valuable tool in interpretation, it is easy to come to the wrong conclusions. *Argementum ex silentio*, a device used by historians when questioning the authenticity of a fact because no mention of it can be found in any sources, has to be used with caution. (Brickman 1982:170) For example, since little mention is made of education prior to the developments initiated by Peter the Great (1682 - 1725), and whatever education was available was offered by the monasteries, deductions may be made with caution as to what education was provided for the peasantry, providing that sufficient information are able to be gleaned from the sources about the lifestyles of the peasants, the laws that governed them, as well as the role that the Church played in the promotion of education.



## 1.7 EXPLICATION OF TERMS IN THE TITLE

In the title **The influence of dogma on the evolution of the Russian education system: a study in time perspective**, the following terms have to be explained in order to avoid misunderstanding or ambiguity:

- ♦ influence
- ♦ dogma
- ♦ evolution
- ♦ education system
- ♦ time perspective
- ♦ Russia

### 1.7.1 The term *Influence*

It is clear that the *Zeitgeist* and milieu in which education in Russia developed is of central significance to the concept of *influence* as indicated in the title of this dissertation.

*Influence* can be seen in the following aspects:

- ♦ the *Zeitgeist* of the times
- ♦ the historical figures who were influential
- ♦ the cultural, social, political and religious influences that prevailed at any given time

Influence is that which has the power to produce an effect and to affect someone's beliefs or actions. (Cowie 1989:641) Influence can more frequently be identified or determined retrospectively. The influence that dogma had on the evolution of the education system in Russia was frequently not a conscious application. The result of it can be seen in the implementation of certain policies, which were perhaps only regarded as natural at the time of

implementation. Czar Alexander II (1855 - 1881) may have decided to abolish serfdom during his reign, but observers may be aware of the *influences* affecting his decision. This may not necessarily coincide with the reasons for his actions.

This study is based upon the personal approach in which the great historical figures of the past, not only the pedagogical thinkers but also the figures of authority whose perspectives shaped the world view and whose beliefs influenced the course of educational development, are examined and discussed. It is important to know what motivated them, what influences shaped their thoughts so that their achievements can be placed in perspective. (Kruger 1992:7) Influence is that which directed their actions. This influence is created by the dogma that determined how they saw themselves and their world as well as by the *Zeitgeist* of the times.

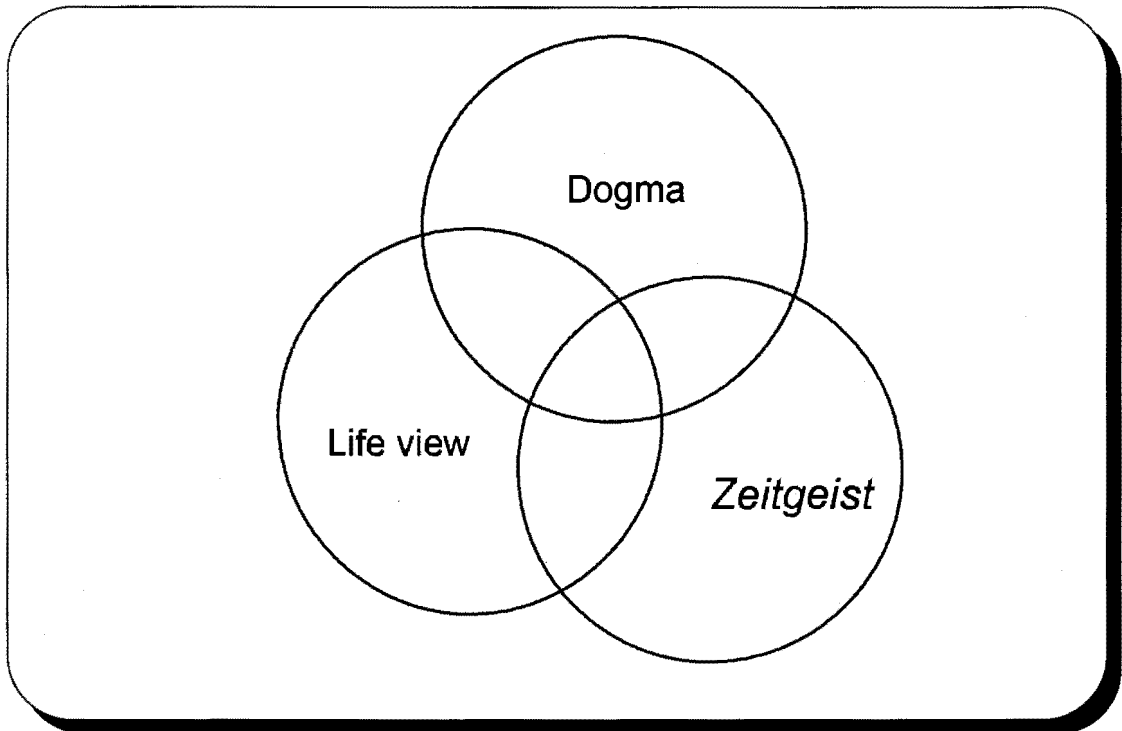
### **1.7.2 The term *dogma***

#### **1.7.2.1 Definition of *dogma***

Since the concept of dogma is central to the understanding of the delimitation of the topic of the study it is necessary to explain it as fully as possible in order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding. The concept of *ideology* is very closely connected to that of *dogma* and it is important that the two be defined and analysed since the Church is generally referred to as having a *dogma* whereas the Communists are said to have an *ideology*.

What is *dogma*? How does it differ from an *ideology* and a *life view*? Ideology is discussed in 1.7.2.3 and life view and its importance are discussed in 1.7.2.5 since it is an incontrovertible part of dogma. (See Figure 6)

The following dictionary definitions state that:



**Figure 6: Diagrammatic representation of the influence of dogma, life view and *Zeitgeist* upon one another**

- ♦ dogma may be defined as "... a belief or set of beliefs put forward by some authority, especially a Church, to be accepted as a matter of faith." Consequently one can have "political, social, economic etc. dogma i.e. ideas that are not expected to be questioned." (Cowie [ed.] 1989: 357)
- ♦ dogma which has its roots in the Greek word meaning *think, seem, seem good*, is defined as "A settled opinion, a belief, a principle; especially a tenet or doctrine authoritatively laid down, as by a church; sometimes, an arrogant declaration of opinion ... " (Emery & Brewster [eds.] 1956:446)
- ♦ dogma is defined as "A doctrine ... concerning religious truth as maintained by the Christian church or any portion of it; hence, a

statement of religious faith ... Doctrine asserted and adopted on authority, as distinguished from that which is the result of one's own reasoning or experience; a dictum. Any settled opinion or conviction ... " (Funk [ed.] 1955:390)

The common elements are that

- ♦ dogma can refer to the tenets of the Church
- ♦ dogma is not something which is based on fact
- ♦ dogma is an opinion which may not be questioned

#### **1.7.2.2 Definition of religious *dogma***

Religious dogma is a separate component of the concept dogma in that it refers to doctrines from the scriptures and the interpretation of the doctrines by religious philosophers. The concept dogma originated from the religious interpretation of the word, as explained below. These explanations have been included to show that the "working definition" of dogma (in terms of this study) differs from the definition of religious dogma:

The following definitions are included to demonstrate that the "working definition" of dogma (in terms of this study) differs from the definition of religious dogma:

- ♦ Sabatier states that : "Originally 'dogma' was 'opinion', what seems good to one; then the term was applied to the opinions, decrees or doctrines of the philosophers; in the Church it was equivalent to doctrines; finally it assumed the signification of doctrines ecclesiastically sanctioned." (in Orr 1960:12 ) Dogma, according to Sabatier, in the strictest sense, is one or more doctrinal propositions which, in a religious society, and as a result of the decisions of the competent authority, have become the object of faith, and the rule of belief and practise. (in Orr 1960:12)

- ♦ this "rule of belief and practise" is the point of departure which will be used in this dissertation, rather than a study of the doctrinal beliefs and their implementation as far as Russian society is concerned. In the year 335, Marcellus of Ancyra included in the idea of dogma the rules of Christian morality, but Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 329 - 390) applied the concept to the object of Christian faith only. According to Tixeront, a dogma is "... a truth revealed, and defined as such by the Church, a truth which the faith of the Christian is obliged to accept." (1984:1) While this definition eventually leads into the area of theology, it is clear that for the purpose of this document, which is not a religious treatise, it represents another idea regarding the interpretation
- ♦ dogmatics, the study of dogma in terms of the Church is concerned with showing the connection between the truths of the Scriptures and to "... expose the relations between the various elements of the dogmas of the church." (Faber 1990:15) The dogmas of the church have to do with ethics as well as doctrines (Faber 1990:18)

The dogma of the Church and the study of dogmatics is thus concerned with the study and interpretation of the scriptures. It is essentially theological in nature. Yet the dogma of the Church is adopted in everyday activities, such as prayer, or the observation of Lent. It becomes a rule of faith, laid down by the Church and finds expression in the faith of its Christian followers in their everyday lives.

### **1.7.2.3 Dogma versus ideology**

How does dogma differ from ideology? The definition of the concept ideology is far more problematic than that of dogma. The following etymological definitions may give a basic clarification of the concept:

- ♦ ideology is a "... set of ideas that form the basis of an economic or political theory or that are held by a particular group or person." (Cowie [ed.] 1989:616)
- ♦ it is also seen as "... the particular system of ideas; the characteristic way of thinking of a people, group or person, as on social or political subjects." (Emery & Brewster 1956:789)
- ♦ both words (dogma and ideology) have the concept of belief in common. (Browning [ed.] 1972:143) This tends to suggest that they share some communality in meaning. A belief need not be based upon fact. It could be based upon an idea which may be religious, social or political

Many scholars have striven to give a definitive definition of this complex concept. The following definitions attempt to clarify the concept:

- ♦ Shils states that "... ideology is another example of the positive and normative belief systems .... which flourish in any human society. Compared with *outlooks* (which the Germans call *Weltanschauungen*), ideologies are distinguished by the explicit nature of their formulation; but they are also more closed, inflexible, and resistant to innovation." (in Boudon 1989:20)
- ♦ Boudon (1989:20) argues that ideologies are distinct from other belief systems because to be categorised as an ideology, eight criteria have to be met and they are distinguished by:
  - the explicit nature of the way in which they are formulated
  - the way in which they attempt to persuade people to a particular or normative belief
  - their desire to be distinct from other belief systems that may have existed in the past or that exist at present
  - their rejection of innovation

- the intolerant nature of their precepts
  - the affective way in which they are promulgated
  - the adherence they demand
  - their association with institutions responsible for reinforcing and putting into effect the belief systems in question (Boudon 1989:20)
- ♦ Parsons gives the following definition of the concept ideology: "The essential criterion of ideology is deviation from scientific objectivity ... the problem of ideology arises when there is a contradiction between what one believes in and what can be established as scientifically correct." (in Boudon 1989:21)

Parson's definition is of importance since it points out that there is no scientific basis (that is provable through scientifically applied principles) to an ideology. It exists only in the minds and beliefs of men.

It is not only the definitions of ideology which are of importance in clarifying the concept ideology. To establish a more complete grasp of the concept ideology, certain opinions about ideology are included as they contain the essence of what an ideology is:

- ♦ Friedrich & Brzezinsky state that "... die ideologie 'n bepaalde sisteem van idees voorhou. Hierdie idees form die inhoud van die program wat daarop ingestel is om die gemeenskap en organisasies daaraan verbonde te verenig." (in Van der Merwe 1982:11) Ideology is identified here as a factor which unites society. Yet dogma too influences and unites a society. It too is a system of ideas. Furthermore Van der Merwe points out: " 'n Ideologie is egter nooit 'n blote teoretiese denksisteem sonder praktiese implikasies nie. Die doel van 'n ideologie is juis om praktiese betekenis te bekom en om neerslag te vind in alledaagse aktiwiteite." (1982:12) An ideology is rooted in the society in

which it operates and it has "practical implications", meaning that action is influenced by ideology

- ♦ according to Karl Marx (1818 - 1883), an ideology is a "... systematically and socially biased body of thought" and that every ideology "... has an inescapable moral or prescriptive dimension" (in Parekh 1982:33) This means that an ideology attempts to shape society so that it would conform to its tenets. In this attempt to shape society, an ideology actually transforms society. It finds relevance in everyday activities, guiding the beliefs and visions of society

From the above mentioned definitions and opinions the following question can be asked: What do dogma and ideology have in common? the following common elements are found in both concepts:

- ♦ they are a system of ideas
- ♦ they are not based on fact
- ♦ they may not be questioned
- ♦ they are implemented in the daily lives of the people who follow the tenets

#### **1.7.2.4 The working definition of *dogma***

How then is dogma defined in terms of its usage in this study? The working definition of *dogma* in this study is derived from the meaning that

- ♦ dogma occurs in the areas of politics, religion, education and society and that it consists of a set of beliefs which find their expression in everyday use. These ideas or beliefs are promoted by some authority, for example the Church or a dictator, and that these ideas or beliefs may not be questioned



For the purpose of this dissertation dogma will refer to the dogmatic creeds of the Russian Orthodox Church insofar as they influenced the everyday behaviour of the people and especially the czars. Dogma also refers to the various other ideologies which prevailed under the czars, since *a dogma is a belief which can find its implementation in everyday life*. The other dogmas which prevailed were

- ♦ humanism
- ♦ communism
- ♦ autocracy
- ♦ nationalism

These will be discussed more fully under the concept of life-view since they become an inherent part of society and the way in which society sees itself.

#### **1.7.2.5 The concept *life-view***

*Life-view* as a concept is important for the following reasons:

- ♦ since use is made of the personal approach, the life-view of the personae involved is of great importance. The life-view of the rulers influenced their vision of education and ultimately, educational policy
- ♦ dogma and life-view are inextricably linked (see Figure 6)

Kruger & Whittle state that "Man is the only being who has a life-view because he is the only being who can make decisions and acts consciously, initiates change, creates history, educates his children, practises religion... It is matters such as these that life-view has a profound influence." (Kruger & Whittle 1982:36) Kruger & Whittle (1982:37-39) go on to identify the following spheres in which a life-view will have a profound effect:

- ♦ man's view of reality
- ♦ man's view of man

- ♦ man's view of values
- ♦ man's view of morality
- ♦ man's view of truth

#### **1.7.2.5.1 Dogma as a life-view**

Dogma is inherently part of a life-view which shapes man's moral standards and ultimately his view of culture. This implies that man's life-view will influence his entire view of himself, his world and the place he occupies in the world. It colours his entire perception of reality and determines his very being in terms of reality as he perceives it.

Dogma prescribes rules of conduct, morals and tenets which are derived from the belief system which governs it. It does not stand outside of or aloof from society. Rather society is imbued by its prescriptions and fashions itself in such a way that the belief system is part of it. This does not only apply to religion but to any other system of thought whether it be the belief in democracy, autocracy or communism.

Pretorius maintains that an ideology is not merely a theory, it has practical implications. He states that "... die doel van enige ideologie is juis om praktiese betekenis te hê, en neerslag te vind in die alledaagse praktiese lewe van die mens. Die taak van 'n ideologie is juis om menslike bestaan met alles wat dit meebring te verklaar en te verhelder met die doel om dit aangenamer, vrugbaarder en sinvoller te maak." (1985:25)

An ideology leads to the development of a world or life-view of mankind and one's role in it. Kruger & Whittle (1982:36) maintain that "When a person subscribes to a particular life-view he simultaneously commits himself to the fulfilment of the obligations it places on him and demands it makes on him."

Furthermore a person is born to a life-view and he acquires this during the course of his life. It stands to reason, therefore, that a person's life-view can change or diverge from the currently held views of society.

#### **1.7.2.2.2 Autocracy as a life-view**

There are several world views which influenced the czars in their view of their own roles and obligations to society, the strongest being autocracy. Autocracy is the despotic rule by a person who assumes total control over his subjects. Such a person would not expect his ideas to be questioned, they would have to be obeyed. The czars held the belief that they were all-powerful beings who held complete sway over their subjects; they were God's representatives on earth and since they were the head of the Church they were answerable and accountable to no-one. Their attitudes and their thinking could also be characterised as being dogmatic.

Dogma and autocracy are not the same thing and the ideas inherent in each concept are not interchangeable. But the phrase "*... to be accepted as a matter of faith ...*" (Cowie [ed.] 1989:357) suggests that there is an element of dogma inherent in autocracy. In other words the people have to accept the autocrat and his absolute power as a matter of faith. In the case of the monarchy the czars proclaimed themselves king according to the manner in which the Byzantine emperors did. They saw themselves as God's representatives. In times when superstition was the norm the Church held absolute sway over the people who were in no position to dispute such a decree.

#### **1.7.2.5.3 The Orthodox faith as a life-view**

Van der Merwe maintains that ideology differs from dogma in that it consists of a specific application of ideas, values and beliefs. (1982:13; Pretorius

1985:25-26) Yet dogma, which encompasses the fundamental religious beliefs of any given faith, consists of exactly the same elements. If one were to take the idea of the existence of an omnipotent being and analyse how such an idea is applied to one's daily living, how it affects one's values and beliefs, one would come to the same conclusion. The believer follows a maxim whether it is grounded on myth, such as tribes who worship natural forces, by calling them god, or whether he follows the notion that Jesus is the saviour of mankind. There seems to be the implication that dogma and the beliefs founded in Christianity, which found their expression in day-to-day living such as reciting the Angelus at twelve noon daily, originated through Divine Will. This is not so because these ritualistic structures were devised by man to keep mankind following the faith. Religious dogma is just as manipulative as communist ideology since it is an attempt to structure faith based on dogmatic beliefs. Ideology attempts to do the same.

The Russian Orthodox faith was an all-powerful, pervasive faith. As far as the nobility were concerned the Orthodox faith was essentially a religion of the upper classes in the early years of its existence. It certainly coloured the Russian czars' perception of their being and ultimate destiny.

#### **1.7.2.5.4 Communism as a life-view**

The Russians shifted or were forced to change their beliefs from the dogmatic theological thought propounded by the Orthodox Church to the ideology of communism after the 1917 revolution which the dissolution of the monarchical system. Both belief systems had an influence on the development of education. In the pre-revolution era (before 1917) the dogma of the Church had an influence on the czars in that it shaped their perception of who they were and what their duties to their people were. When the communists assumed power their own beliefs - or more particularly the way they

interpreted Marx-Leninism ideology - played the same role in shaping themselves and their society. The Marx-Leninism ideology is more fully explained in Chapter 5.

The rule of dogma as an effect upon the development of the education system of Russia did not wane as the influence of the Church grew less important. In fact the influence of dogma did not grow less among the majority of the population. The difference lay in the shift of perspective that occurred: Marx's statement that "Religion is the opium of the masses" (McLellan 1973:89) only served, in effect, to cause a shift from the dogma of the Church and its omnipotent rule to the beliefs in Marxist-Leninism. While this is an oversimplification of the problem it serves only to illustrate that the creeds of the Orthodox Church no longer had a sufficiently strong hold on those who chose to break away and follow the dogma of communism. Perhaps it never had much influence on the revolutionaries because it was a system that had failed their needs from the start yet they realised that to deprive the populace of a system of beliefs would set them adrift and alienate them from the ruling elite. They needed to be given a dogmatic set of beliefs to follow in order for the new system to work.

It was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870 - 1924) who interpreted Marx's policies and set down the ways in which they could be applied to society. Lenin gave Marxism its true form and moulded the theory to suit the particular needs of Russian society as it existed in the late 19th century. The ideology, as Van der Merwe points out, is referred to as "... Marxisme/Leninisme, ... 'n uitvloeisel van die imperialisme en die proletariese rewolusies ..." (1982:58) However, Van der Merwe (1982:58) states that Lenin maintained that communism was not a dogma that should be followed to the letter but that it was to be seen and treated as a guide. Unfortunately his followers, notably

Joseph Stalin (1879 - 1953), distorted this "guide" and forced the Russian peoples to obey his own interpretation of the communist dogma. This "guide" became synonymous with religion. Van der Merwe states quite unequivocally that "Vir die rasegte Kommunis is Marxisme/Leninisme nie bloot 'n ekonomiese teorie of filosofie nie, maar inderdaad 'n dogma of religie." (1982:26)

The concept and definition of dogma in the context of this dissertation should thus be seen to apply to both the tenets of the Church and that of the Communist ideology as interpreted by its various followers, since a dogma is

- ♦ something which is accepted as a matter of faith or belief
- ♦ a belief which finds its expression in everyday life

While the other dogmas identified previously as having had an influence on the czars and the way in which it influenced their needs to develop education, these dogmatic influences could be regarded as being supplementary to the beliefs of Orthodoxy and Communism. Orthodoxy and Communism are mutually exclusive, that is, one cannot be follow both dogmas simultaneously, while one can, for example be a communist who believes in nationalism.

#### **1.7.2.5.5 Nationalism as a life-view**

The concept of nationalism refers in its broadest sense to "... the devotion to one's own nation." (Cowie [ed.] 1989:824 ) This involves the patriotic feelings that one has to one's motherland, but it can become a political issue if it becomes a movement such as when one's country is ruled by another and the inhabitants strive to throw off foreign rulers. It is an attempt to preserve what is one's own whether it be language, customs or culture.

Russia has often been ruled by czars who were nationalistic in their outlook, but this was often in response to threats from invaders. Peter the Great (1672 - 1725) is perhaps a case in point, as he attempted to strengthen Russia's army and navy by modernising and improving it in an effort to retain sovereignty over Russia. It is for this reason that he decided to initiate certain educational institutions. Another aspect that is a direct result of nationalism is the constant expansion of Russia's borders. An example of this occurred in the eighteenth century when Russia's western and southern frontiers were extended to include Poland and Turkey. (Hingley 1992:87)

Nationalism under the communist regime (1917 - 1993) reflects the belief that the "... Soviet Union must pay more heed to the vital needs and concerns of the most numerous national group, ethnic Russians." (Dunlop 1985:1) Whereas the Communist ideology was the element that united the Soviet peoples as a nation, the disintegration of the USSR in 1993 has caused an ideological vacuum. Dunlop states that "Among both ethnic Russians and non-Russians nationalism and religio-nationalism are the most powerful forces moving in to fill the vacuum created by the death of Marxist-Leninist ideology." (1985:5) People have a need to believe in something and the belief in the supremacy of one's ethnic origins is a powerful motivating factor in nation building.

#### **1.7.2.5.6 Humanism as a life-view**

Humanism can be defined as a system of beliefs that "... concentrates on common human needs and seeks rational, rather than divine ways of solving human problems." (Cowie [ed.] 1989:608) Humanism as a belief is rooted in the Greek culture and the periods during which this belief gained the most prominence in the West was during the Greek Enlightenment (ca. 400 - 500 B.C.), the Renaissance (1400 - 1600), and the European Enlightenment (ca.

1600 - 1700). (Blackham 1976:102) The latter influenced Catherine the Great (1729 - 1796) to effect changes in government and education to a certain extent. Blackham states that: "... the European Enlightenment and its prolongation into various movements of the nineteenth century, were in great part humanist in character, were certainly not specifically Christian in character, and were formative periods that transformed a dominant part of the original Europe of the Church into modern secular industrial democracies." (1976:102)

Charles Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) and Voltaire (pseudonym for Francois Marie Arouet, 1694 - 1778) were the major proponents of the humanist movement which eventually initiated the Enlightenment. Their view of mankind thus negated much of the influence of the Church. Marxism-Leninism deviates from the mainstream of the humanist tradition because it is primarily class-based as opposed to a system which is concerned with man as man and the person as his own end. The theories of Marx and Lenin do share some of the broadly defined terms of humanism, such as in its specifications of the conditions and "... mutual relations of independence and interdependence, personal life and society." (Blackham 1976:128)

Humanism is a way of viewing life and man and man's relationship and treatment of his fellowman in a rational as opposed to a mystical manner. It is a dogma which is in opposition to the Church in that it seeks rational answers to questions and problems; it does not see them as God-ordained.

### **1.7.3 The term *evolution***

The concept *evolution* is derived from the Latin *evolutio* meaning "unrolling or unfolding". (Emery & Brewster [eds.] 1956:525) It implies a process which



occurs over a period of time. An appropriate definition in terms of this study is that it is a "... continuous progress from unorganized simplicity to organized complexity". (Emery & Brewster [eds.] 1956:525) This study starts with the early history of Russia when education was not organized by the state and education was largely found in monasteries. The education system evolved over a period of centuries from a disorganized, haphazard affair to the highly organized system which serves the needs of the State, the economy and society.

#### **1.7.4 The term *education system***

The word *system* is derived from the Greek word which meant "an organized or complex whole". (Emery & Brewster [eds.] 1956:1930) The word *complex* means "composite, made up of interrelated parts. (Emery & Brewster [eds.]1956:295) This means that the education system is an organized, composite structure which has developed or been designed to provide a framework according to which it operates or runs.

#### **1.7.5 The term *time perspective***

##### **1.7.5.1 The significance of *time perspective* in the title**

The concept of *time* is essential to the understanding of the title. Its use in this dissertation encompasses more than the mere fact that man is bound to time, as outlined in Venter & Van Heerden. (1992:85) The History of Education is by its own definition concerned with time, and it cannot be refuted that the past, the present and the future are all linked, since they are integrated in the educational present. (Venter & Van Heerden 1992:86) In other words, that which has been has created the present and the present determines the future, in terms of its integration as a whole.

### 1.7.5.2 The relationship between time perspective and *Zeitgeist*

*Time perspective* implies more than the idea of time being the connecting force in history, since it is referring to the *Zeitgeist* which shapes the way people think and what they think determines how they will act.

The concept of *Zeitgeist* is therefore of central significance to the context of the dissertation. *Zeitgeist*, from the German meaning "time-spirit", refers to the spirit of the time, or more succinctly, the general drift of thought and feeling which is characteristic of a particular period in time. *Zeitgeist* is not a static phenomenon and may become a universal rather than a localised one. *Zeitgeist* colours the economy, society, philosophy, politics and culture of people.

Two major reasons for the inclusion of the concept of *Zeitgeist* as part of the concept *time perspective* are given by Van Schalkwyk (in Dekker & Van Schalkwyk 1989:3-4) who states that:

- ♦ man is a dynamic being with constantly changing needs (including educational needs) which causes him to constantly change his environment to suit his needs and aspirations
- ♦ man's environment which is demographically and geographically determined is influenced by cultural factors such as economic, political and social circumstances. These offer possibilities and limitations to the development of his culture

The various factors which influence and determine *Zeitgeist* are the following:

- ♦ the socio-cultural conditions: This refers to the existing social patterns of a country (the vertical social strata in the community which are based upon literacy, possession and origins and horizontal groupings based on ethnicity, culture, language and religion). It also gives an indication of

the various social circumstances of the different social groups within the framework of society and includes inter-human and inter-group relationships. The cultural framework of a country refers to aspects such as language, community culture, traditions, customs, goals and the nature of the culture which exists within the community (Dekker & Van Schalkwyk 1989:7)

- ♦ the political system: Van Schalkwyk (in Dekker & Van Schalkwyk 1989:8) states that this usually refers to the governmental management of a country. The governmental management can vary from a fully centralised structure, where the power is vested in the hands of a person or a group (autocracy), to a decentralised structure, where the power is in the hands of different political parties (democracy), or somewhere between these two norms where the core elements of both systems are grouped together to a greater or lesser extent. The concept of *politics* may also refer to the systems of power which operate in the community. Power is regarded as the ability to influence decisions and may thus be regarded as the attempts of various groups to further their ideals or goals in relation to other groups. (Bondesio & Berkhout 1987:116) Whatever the governmental structure or system of power may be, it has a direct influence on the educational goals, the curriculum and the teaching methods
- ♦ the economic system: The political system of a country has a great influence upon the economic structure of a country. Underlying every economic policy is an ideology which determines the structure, socialistic or capitalistic, which the economy adopts. A socialist economic policy discourages for example initiative, enterprise and private ownership and in this way suppresses economic activity. A free market or capitalist system, on the other hand, stimulates growth and

development. Countries with a socialist economy do not have a great need for technical and vocational education while countries with a capitalist economy have a great need for people who are educated in technology. The nature of the community's needs have an unmistakable influence on the nature of the curriculum. (Berkhout & Bondesio 1992:99) Apart from the ideology, the politics of a country also determine the nature of the economic system because politics determine which group will possess sufficient power to decide the form or system that the economy will adopt

- ♦ the religious beliefs: Religion may be regarded as the dominating conviction about God, man and world and determines the values and norms that guide the lifestyles and decisions of people. Although beliefs can differ between groups and individuals, knowledge of the collective religion is of fundamental importance because it is reflected in the curriculum and the aims, direction, subject content and teaching methods. Knowledge of the religious convictions and life-view of a community are conditional to the comprehension and understanding of the *Zeitgeist* of a country
- ♦ historical factors: Everything that exists, exists within time. Every existing action or practice, whether it be political, economic, social or religious, has an historic origin and an historic progression over time which influences the nature of education. The traditions, customs, practices and norms which developed over time cannot be ignored when a curriculum is devised. The historic element has power which affects both the present and the future

The dissertation must be seen in terms of this phenomenon as it has attempted to utilise the concept of *Zeitgeist* as an encompassing factor to

explain why certain dogmatic principles operated at certain times and how this served as an influence to the major historical figures who determined and influenced educational development and policy.

### **1.7.5.3 *Zeitgeist* versus dogma**

The *Zeitgeist* is an incontrovertible part of the development of a country and its people, and hence, its education. It is possible that *Zeitgeist* and the dogma of an age are influenced by each other:

- ♦ the *Zeitgeist* becomes the dogma
- ♦ the dogma becomes the *Zeitgeist*

An example of this is perhaps the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II in 1861. Contemporary beliefs, influenced by humanism and especially nationalism, had created a climate conducive to this radical change which filtered through to education as the establishment of *zemstvos* (elective county councils which represented both the nobles and the small landowners and who had direct say in local education). The dogma (nationalism and humanism) was reflected in the *Zeitgeist* (the prevailing belief that the serfs should be emancipated) which called for a more enlightened approach towards the peasantry.

*Zeitgeist* and dogma thus influence man's perceptions about reality and the space he occupies in that perceived reality. This reality would colour what is taught at school, and how it is taught.

### **1.7.6 The term *Russia***

While "Russia" has become synonymous with its official name, viz. the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in laymen's terms, for the purpose of this study "Russia" refers to the historical name of the designated country and in

modern terms to the Republic of Russia within the Russian Federation. The reason is that educational policy was dictated from within Russia and the other states had to follow their direction. While there are discrepancies and differences to be found in the other states, a study which encompasses the individual differences will necessitate a study on a far larger scale than is being attempted here. Thus "Russia" refers to the historical boundaries of Russia and in post-revolution terminology, the country which is encompassed within the geographical borders of that state. "Russia" as defined in terms of the 1990s is once again referring to the Republic of Russia as it is currently defined by international boundaries.

From the time that Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in March 1985 the socialist system of government began to disintegrate. The first states to break away were Poland, East Germany and Lithuania. On Christmas Day 1991 the Red Flag with its hammer and sickle was lowered from the Kremlin. Gorbachev resigned and the USSR was disbanded. (Lane [ed.] 1992:xiv) The map (map1) (Popovych & Levin-Stankevich 1992:3) shows the boundaries of the Republic of Russia as it existed in 1993.

## **1.8 STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS**

### **1.8.1 Discrepancies in spelling**

While the dictionary states that "czar" and "tsar" and even "tzar" all refer to the same thing, namely the head of the monarchy of Russia, the spelling "czar" has been used except where it was spelt differently in quotations from source material.



Map 1: The boundaries of the Republic of Russia in 1993

### **1.8.2 Use of capital letters**

The following words, viz. Church, and Party have been written with a capital letter when it is referring to the institution. When the "czar" appears before the name of a ruler it will be written with a capital letter, such as in "Czar Peter the Great".

### **1.8.3 Dates**

All dates refer to A.D. unless otherwise specified and all biographical dates are given where possible.

## **1.9 OUTLINE OF RESEARCH**

The following will be covered in each chapter:

### **Chapter 2**

- ♦ the socio-historical background of Russia from 980 to 1613
- ♦ geographical factors which influenced the development of Russia as a whole
- ♦ the Russian people
- ♦ political factors such as the rulers who had an influence and the suppression by the Mongol invaders
- ♦ the advent of Christianity and its influence
- ♦ the Rurik dynasty
- ♦ the first Muscovite dynasty
- ♦ developments in education and the role of dogma

### **Chapter 3**

- ♦ the beginning of the Romanov dynasty, from the first Romanov czar, Michael I up to the death of Alexander II in 1881



- ♦ a brief overview of developments under Czars Michael (1613 - 1645); Alexis (1645 - 1676); Theodore III (1676 - 1682); Ivan V (1682 - 1696)
- ♦ the origins of the Russia education system under Peter the Great and the developments which occurred during his rule, including the establishment of schools, problems he encountered and the dogmatic influences which had an effect on both him and the development of education
- ♦ the empresses: Catherine I (1725 - 1727) and Anna Ivanova (1730 - 1740); Elizabeth (1741 - 1761); Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796)
- ♦ Emperor Paul (1796 - 1801)
- ♦ Alexander I (1801 - 1825) and the great changes that were brought about during his rule, the role of Uvarov, the influence of the Napoleonic War, the "Holy Alliance" and dogmatic influences which affected education
- ♦ Nicholas I (1825 - 1855) and the influence that dogma had upon the development of education during his rule, educational reforms and his political ideals
- ♦ the dawn of enlightenment which occurred during the reign of Alexander II (1855 - 1881), the political reforms, the emergence of political radicalism, educational reforms and the restrictive measures which were taken to curb the population

#### **Chapter 4**

- ♦ the socio-political background to the 1917 Revolution
- ♦ the socio-economic background to the twentieth century
- ♦ Populism (ca. 1880 - 1908)
- ♦ Marxism: its influence, the Communist ideology, religion and Marxism, Karl Marx and education

- ♦ Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870 - 1924)
- ♦ The remaining two Romanov czars; Alexander III (1881 - 1894) and the people who influenced him, the educational reforms and developments which occurred during his rule and the educational and political developments under Nicholas II (1894 - 1917)

## **Chapter 5**

- ♦ education during the Communist era
- ♦ the dogma of the Communist Party
- ♦ education as a tool of Communist dogma
- ♦ the implementation of Communist ideals, ca. 1917 to 1930
- ♦ the implementation of Communist ideals in education under Lenin (1917 - 1924)
- ♦ education under Joesph Stalin (1924 - 1953)
- ♦ education under Nikita Khrushchev (1953 - 1964) and Leonid Brezhnev (1964 - 1982)
- ♦ educational developments under Mikhail Gorbachev (1985 - 1990)
- ♦ Boris Yeltsin (1990 - ) and the changes which have occurred during his rule

## **Chapter 6**

- ♦ an evaluation comprises findings, conclusions and recommendations
- ♦ the value of this research for the implementation of a national educational strategy for South Africa
- ♦ further research will also be discussed

### **1.10 SUMMARY**

The title of this dissertation implies that

- ♦ dogma had an influence on the development of the Russian education system
- ♦ the education system evolved over a period of time
- ♦ the great historic figures that influenced the development of this system were in turn, influenced by certain beliefs or belief systems which were commonly held during the periods in history in which they reigned, or in which they had influence
- ♦ the basic historico-educational method will be employed in the research
- ♦ the problem-historical, personal, chronological and the phenomenological approaches will be followed

The belief systems, or dogmas, which had a predominant influence on the development of the Russian education system will be looked at in the context of the historical and social evolution of Russia.

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## **CHAPTER 2**

### **SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY RUSSIA FROM 980 TO 1613**

#### **2.1 PROLOGUE**

In terms of the identification of the *Zeitgeist* as outlined in Chapter 1, the socio-historical background to the development of Russia is of great significance for it ultimately influenced the direction and development of education.

This chapter will deal with the following aspects:

- ♦ the socio-historical background of Russia from 980 to ca. 1613. This includes geographical details which influenced the character and development of the Russian nation, the social groupings and political factors
- ♦ the Tartar yoke: the effects of the Tartar invasion in the 13th century and its influence on the social structure and development of Russia as a nation
- ♦ the advent of Christianity and its influence on education and society
- ♦ the role of the Russian Orthodox Church: the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches, its role in the development of education, culture and the establishment of the belief in autocracy
- ♦ the Ruric dynasty from the 9th to the 12th century, its rulers and significant events which influenced the history of Russia
- ♦ the first Muscovite dynasty, its rulers and significant events which influenced the development of education
- ♦ prevalent dogmatic beliefs during this era and their influence on education



Since these factors contributed towards the establishment of Russia, they are indirect influences that shaped the development, and especially the direction which education assumed in the early years of Russia's development.

## **2.2 SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RUSSIA FROM 980 TO 1613**

The education of the millions of peasants in the immediate post-revolution era (1917) in Russia lifted the mass of the population out of the bondage of serfdom. In a few decades Russia changed from a largely agricultural to an industrialised nation which was capable of sending manned spacecraft into orbit around the world, a country seemingly so obsessed with educating its peoples that according to the communist propaganda, 50 million illiterate adults were taught to read between 1920 and 1940. (Jackson 1975:54) While several sources quote these astronomical figures, they have recently been refuted by a Russian academic. (Plotnikov 1992:8)

While Russia produced brilliant musicians, writers and scientists it had always been considered to be a "backward" country in terms of the capitalist west, yet it has managed to produce more graduates from higher educational institutions than any other country in the world except the United States of America. (McLelland 1979:xi) This could, however, be due to the fact that Russian statistics on enrolment were inflated to present a positive image abroad.

The following questions arise when the achievements under the communist regime are considered:

- ♦ why did Russia lag so far behind the rest of Europe throughout its lengthy and troubled history?
- ♦ why had so many people remained uneducated before the beginning of the twentieth century?

These questions can only be answered if the history of the country is considered, as well as the people who ruled Russia, for their beliefs and ideas built and shaped the nation. Another factor is the physical setting of Russia since its geography also played a role in the evolution of the country.

### **2.2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS**

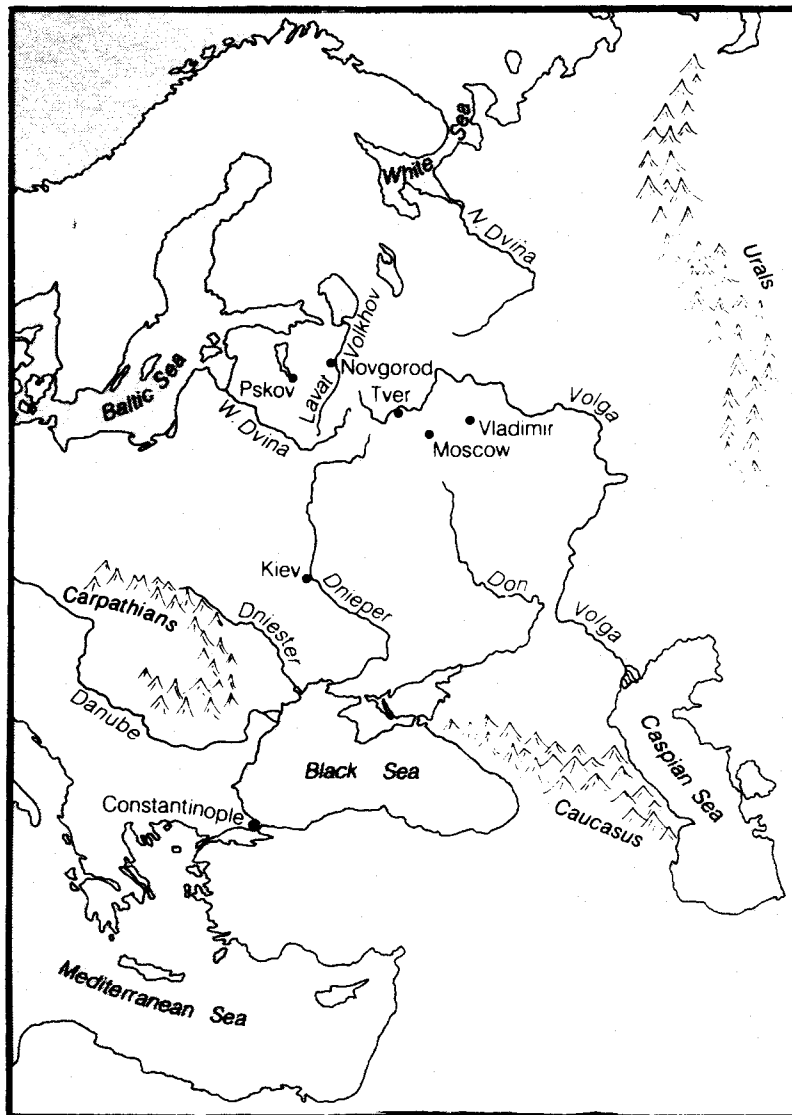
The geography of a country plays a major role in shaping the character of a nation since adverse conditions which create a challenge to survival, tends to produce people who are perhaps more adept at coping with hardship. The significance in the inclusion of the geography of Russia is that it seems to have had an effect on the people, and an indirect bearing on the slow development and interest in education. The vast physical size of the country meant that the people were not readily converted to the Orthodox faith, and hence their exposure to the civilising influence of the Orthodox culture and later, education was a slow process.

#### **2.2.1.1 Physical features**

While Russia lacks natural boundaries such as mountains, the rivers, forests and the sea helped to give direction to the growth of the Russian nation. (See map 2) Russia consists of vast plains, unbroken by mountains of any significant height, except in parts of its southern boundaries and eastern Siberia. (Hingley 1991:7)

Soloviev (1987:23) writes that certain geographical elements are beneficial to the development of social life. They include:

- ♦ proximity to the sea



**Map 2: Rivers, seas and mountains of old Russia**

(Adapted from Acton 1986:2)

- ♦ a long coastline
- ♦ clearly defined boundaries
- ♦ a state which is of a moderate size, facilitating internal communication
- ♦ a moderate climate

Kievan Russia did not fulfil any of these requirements. Although there are several navigable rivers which are useful communication links, they are not suitable for international trade because they frequently become icebound in winter, thus hampering contact with the larger cities where the Church was able to establish its influence, and consequently educational facilities such as monasteries.

The Russians settled mostly on the steppe. They were primarily agriculturists. The *tayga* or coniferous forests do not allow for sufficient ripening of crops during the short summers, and the steppe suffers from poor rainfall. (Walters [ed.] 1990:25)

### **2.2.1.2 The Kievan State**

Most of the historical events and developments occurred in the areas closest to Europe and three capital cities played a prominent role during the early history of the country since the largest concentration of people was found here:

- ♦ Kiev, especially during the ninth to eleventh centuries
- ♦ Moscow, from the fifteenth century until 1712
- ♦ St Petersburg from 1712 to 1917
- ♦ Moscow again became the seat of the government in 1918

Kievan Rus reached its peak of prosperity in the early part of the 11th century when it was the largest state in mediaeval Europe. It was composed of a

loose federation of principalities who shared common traditions and language.

A hierarchy of principalities developed during the late 11th century:

- ♦ Chernigov and Pereyaslavl, which followed Kiev in importance
- ♦ Polotsk, which established its own dynasty (this area is now known as Belorussia)
- ♦ Novgorod constituted an empire on its own since it was a big trading centre
- ♦ the Vladimir-Suzdal principality, which later usurped Kiev as the seat of the Grand Prince in the middle of the 12th century, was to be the forerunner of Muscovite Russia (Walters [ed.] 1990:81)

These were significant because of the numbers of people who inhabited these centres which meant that the Church became well established there. This in turn meant that education was at least offered in the monasteries to the clergy, creating some form of culture conducive to education.

The development of Russia cannot really be compared to that of other Western European nations or for that matter, any Asian countries. The question as to whether Russia forms part of the East or the West, has been argued by countless scholars, some of whom state that it is neither. (Vernadsky 1963:1) They believe that the history of Russia can only be explained or understood in terms of Asia, which comprises several different cultures and civilisations as well as being a geographical unit. Russia developed in isolation to Europe, and this accounts for the differences culturally and educationally. The most important political, economic and cultural influences emanated from the Byzantine Empire. (Vernadsky 1967:7)

## **2.2.2 THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE**

### **2.2.2.1 Origins**

The term "Rus" is an ancient term which referred both to the people and the land which they inhabited. The majority of the population belonged to the Slavonic tribes who had settled in the main river basins and wooded steppe over preceding centuries. (Walters [ed.] 1990:23) The Viking Scandinavians played an important role in the establishment of the nation since they were retainers of the ruling dynasty of Rus, later becoming Slavized.

Old Russia, although dominated by the Slavs, was composed of many different nationalities, languages and religions. One of the reasons is that Russia was prey to many successive waves of invaders. Most of the invaders came from the East, such as the Scythians and the Sarmatians (who came from the region of present day Iran), and during the third and fourth centuries, the Goths, who came from the north- west. Other eastern tribes who invaded Russia were the Huns, Avars and the Khazars. The Pechenegs and the Polovtsians continued to carry on armed invasions even after the first Rus state had been established (in 862), the latter being eventually defeated by the Mongol-Tartar invasion of 1237 - 1240. (Hingley 1991:13)

### **2.2.2.2 The Russian character**

The history of Russia seems to indicate that from the time that the loosely connected tribes began to live together as coherent groups, the Russian character has tended to be one of subservience, perhaps in order to survive, since they were frequently at the mercy of foreign invaders. This could explain why their development was so slow and why they put up with the grave injustices perpetrated on them by their rulers throughout the centuries. However, Baring writes that the Great Russians, who came from the North

during the fourth century, were the pioneers of the Slav race who conquered and colonised Russia: "He emerged from among the other Slavs, and although he started by being the weakest element politically, he proved the paradox that the weakest is the strongest and ended ... by triumphing over all his rivals, and forming the kernel of a new empire." (1911:34)

As far as the Russian character is concerned, he is

- ♦ "... first and foremost peaceable, malleable, ductile and plastic; and consequently distinguished by an agility of mind, by a capacity for imitation and assimilation, and a corresponding lack of originality and initiative. He is deficient in will and character, and superabundant in ideas, understanding and sympathy" (Baring 1911:34)
- ♦ Muller bases his remarks about the Russian character on a report made by Yury Krizhanich who visited Russia in 1647 and 1659: "The minds of the people were obtuse and inert. They displayed no skill in trade, agriculture, or domestic management.... The Russians were without ability to devise anything new for themselves unless shown how... They were lazy and unproductive... their language was ... poorer... than all the other major European languages, so that it was little wonder their minds were dull and sluggish. After all, what cannot be put into words cannot be conceived of by the mind... " (1987:226)

Three groups of people had a significant influence on the physical characteristics of the Russian people, viz. the Finns, the Slavs and the Tartars. The Finns originally occupied Russia, but they were assimilated by the Slavs who became the predominant race in Russia. Baring states that the Tartars were never assimilated with the Slavs, since they were gradually eliminated because they were too "... alien and foreign to the rest of the nation." Baring (1911:32) Their influence was more political than racial.

These observations indicate that the Russians, as a people tended to be less developed as far as other European nations were concerned in terms of the European definition of initiative and intelligence of the time. A mitigating factor could be the harsh climate, since survival itself must have been a difficult aspect of their daily lives. Soloviev (1987:24-25) states that while the Germanic tribes, for example, moved from the north-east to the south-west, thereby encountering the civilising influence of the Roman empire, the Slavs moved from south-west to north-east, into uninhabited virgin forest. This meant a colder climate which would have taught them strategies for survival and probably led to the development of the *mir*, or communal way of life. The slight upon their lack of intelligence is a debatable point, since intelligence refers to many different aspects, and while the intelligence of the Russians may not have been of a literary kind, they had the necessary intelligence to ensure survival under adverse circumstances.

While these details about the Russian character may seem irrelevant, they do, however, illustrate what the Russian people were like, as seen through the eyes of foreigners. The social structure which had existed during the Middle Ages in Russia meant that the nobility who tended to live in the more densely populated cities had access to the church and consequently experienced greater exposure to the prevailing culture. The culture was based largely upon the Byzantine culture which was very different from Rome and the influence it had upon the clergy and the arts and literature. The Russian Orthodox Church did not produce lettered men intent on questioning and philosophising about their faith. It did not produce men who were thirsty for knowledge or who wanted to expand their minds. If the closer contact the people in the cities had with the Church did not produce an eagerness for learning, it is not likely that those who lived in the remoter areas would either.



Education was neither a quest nor a luxury, it was simply not deemed necessary until the early 18th century when Peter the Great (1682 - 1725) ruled Russia.

#### **2.2.2.3 The princes**

Most of the princely dynasties claimed to be descendants of Rurik, but from the middle of the 11th century they later became identified with the principalities over which their immediate forebears had ruled. (Florinsky 1964:15) Their most important duties were to provide military leadership and to administer justice.

#### **2.2.2.4 The upper classes and townsmen**

The princes depended upon their military retinue, or *druzhina*, who were originally supported by grants from the princely treasury. They also shared in the war booty, judicial fines levied on the populace and the proceeds of trade ventures. (Florinsky 1964:16) The *druzhina* later became the landed aristocracy of Russia.

The urban population was composed of artisans, merchants and tradesmen who were freemen. Through the *veche*, or popular assembly, they frequently entered into agreements with princes which determined their rights and duties, and they had the power to reject princes if they did not approve of them and to appoint new ones. (Florinsky 1964:17) The *veche* reached the pinnacle of its power during the 11th and 12th centuries.

#### **2.2.2.5 The peasantry**

The peasantry formed the bulk of the free population. They paid tribute to their local prince and had to serve in the army whenever required. They lived mostly by farming, bee-keeping and hunting. (Florinsky 1964:17) They

originally owned their plots, but in the 11th and 12th centuries matters changed when the estates of the princes, boyars and the Church started to claim more land. Many peasants became tenant farmers. It frequently happened that the lords expropriated the land, forcing the peasants to become tenants, and in other cases the peasants actually sought the protection and financial assistance provided by the lords. They became a class of people who were neither slaves nor freemen and later became the serfs of later years under Romanov rule (1613 to ca. 1864).

#### **2.2.2.6 Relevance of the social structure for this study**

The inclusion of the social structure has relevance to the topic for the following reasons:

- ♦ it shows the origins of a social structure that became more hierarchical as time progressed
- ♦ the peasantry remained oppressed until they were freed in 1881, which means that they were prevented from receiving education
- ♦ the upper classes were not interested in being educated (as shown in the attempts made by Vladimir I in the 10th century)
- ♦ the social norms which prevailed did not cause people to question their status in society or allow them to think that society could be structured differently. This is primarily because of the *Zeitgeist* of the times. There was an unquestioning, blind acceptance of things the way they were

#### **2.2.3 POLITICAL FACTORS**

The political factors are of particular importance since the policies devised and implemented by them had a direct bearing upon education, its aims and content. The origin of the political structure lies in the choosing and investiture of power in the leaders.

### **2.2.3.1 The rulers**

Politically Russia has been governed by a succession of autocrats which have included the Mongol khans, Muscovite Grand Princes, czars, czar-emperors and czaritsa-empresses, and more recently, communist dictators or near-dictators. (Hingley 1968:8)

The development of education in Russia was therefore subject to different ideologies as determined by the dogma and decrees of whoever was ruling at any given time. An autocrat, meaning "absolute ruler", (Cowie [ed.] 1989:68) would have absolute control and power over his or her subjects. Such a ruler would decide to what extent development and change through education would be permitted. Thus the beliefs and aspirations of the ruler determined what was taught, or how much education would be available to the population. Since the general trend was for the rulers to receive scant education themselves, and because the Church itself was run by people who were scarcely literate, education did not seem to be a priority. This is particularly relevant to the period up to the eighteenth century when Peter the Great (1682 - 1725) initiated certain developments in education.

Russia is in a sense uniquely different from the rest of Western Europe. It never submitted to or acknowledged the rule of the Roman Catholic Church which played a large part in unifying the spiritual side of Europe as well as bringing education to its followers. Furthermore, the Renaissance (14th to 16th centuries) which was experienced in Europe after the Middle Ages did not influence Russia much. The most important reason for this could be ascribed to the geographical setting of Russia and the grip of the Tartars, which followed their invasion of 1237 to 1240.

### **2.2.3.2 The Tartar yoke (1237 to ca. 1480)**

Kievan Russia succumbed to the Tartar invaders who held sway over their subjects for close on 250 years, during which time tribute had to be paid to the Tartar masters.

The Rus now had a common enemy. The Tartars had an influence on all spheres of Russian life, especially their morals and customs, but they did not interfere with their religion. They used the Orthodox Church to settle disputes and to negotiate with Russian princes. (Hingley 1968:180)

Walsh (1968:51) states that the Tartars protected Russian Orthodoxy from Catholic missionaries and Roman Catholic conquerors, so that they acted as guardians or protectors of Russian Orthodoxy. This also means, conversely, that they cut Russia off from further contact with Europe and actually contributed towards her backwardness.

Kiev, which had been one of the greatest cities in mediaeval Europe, was completely devastated by the Tartars in about 1240. According to a report in 1246 by the papal envoy John of Plano Carpini, who was on his way to Mongolia, Kiev had been besieged by the Tartars, who then killed nearly the whole population and enslaved those who survived. Only about two hundred houses had been left standing. (Hingley 1968:24)

Apart from the looting and destruction of Russian property, the Tartars followed a policy of deporting skilled craftsmen to Tartary. Russia's advancement as a power was further eroded by prohibiting Russian princes from conducting foreign policy, which in effect meant that all contact with Europe was prevented. This could possibly explain, too, why Russia never experienced the Renaissance (14th to 16th century) or the Reformation (16th

century) which was so crucial to the evolution of education in the West, since their contact with European civilisation was prohibited.

Kiev never regained its supremacy and importance after the Slavs, who lived to the north, took advantage of the Tartar conquest to better their own power. Their chief colony was a "nondescript wooden settlement" named Moscow. (Maloney 1976:92)

Some historians feel that the idea of the "Tartar yoke" was misleading and exaggerated as the history of Russia before Mongol conquest gradually came to be better understood. (Clarkson 1962:2) An important development that occurred during the Tartar invasion which was to have lasting significance on the way in which society operated in Russia, was learnt from the Tartar masters. Walsh (1968:52) indicates that the Tartars' belief in submission by the individual to the group which translated into the practise of service to the group, was developed into the Muscovite state service. The state service demanded that every class and all people should serve the state in some way. Walsh states that: "This may be called, though not with literal accuracy, a system of state serfdom. It was closely integrated with authoritarianism." (1968:52)

The khans were "completely autocratic". (Walsh 1968:52) They not only claimed all land under their suzerainty, but also ownership over all their subjects. The Russian princes used this legacy to establish and reinforce their claim to absolute autocracy.

Certain positive attributes emerged from the Tartar rule. They were:

- ♦ contributions in the military sphere
- ♦ administrative skills
- ♦ manufacture

In evaluating their role, however, the negative aspects were to have a lasting effect. These include:

- ♦ they prevented Russia from contact with Europe where concepts such as humanism, scientific discoveries and representative forms of government were beginning to take hold
- ♦ the development of the printing press by Gutenberg in the 15th century which gave such an impetus to the growth and spread of education in Europe remained unknown to them
- ♦ the Russians emphasised traditional ways rather than developing new thought and behaviour patterns which further entrenched their own social norms and customs, turning them ever inward on their own closed society

Whatever education occurred was not likely to have been of an academic or intellectual type; it centred around the development of skills, such as manufacture, and military strategy and warfare.

### **2.3 THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY AND ITS INFLUENCE**

The Byzantine Emperor, Michael III, sent two missionaries, the brothers Cyril and Methodius to try and convert the pagan Slavs in ca. 855. This led the two monks to record the Slavic languages, using a phonetic script based on the capital letters of the Greek alphabet. Their work gave rise to the standard Cyrillic script and the strongly Orthodox nature of Russian Christianity. (Bowen 1981: 485-486). This meant that the Russians were able to record their language and translate the Bible, thus providing a start to literacy in the country.

Christianity, which became the adopted official religion in about 980 during the reign of Vladimir I (ca. 980 - 1015), was in the form of the Orthodox or

Eastern type of Catholicism and was to have a lasting significance on the development of Russia. It caused the country to be isolated from the rest of Catholic Europe and limited the extent to which it could be integrated with the culture of its neighbours, the Poles in particular.

The Russian Orthodox Church which played a major role in the development of ecclesiastical education in Russia greatly affected the rulers, the czars, in their perception of what their role was in relation to the people over whom they ruled.

### **2.3.1 The role of Vladimir I (980 - 1015)**

St Vladimir, the Grand Prince of Kiev who reigned from ca. 980 - 1015, adopted the religion, destroyed the pagan temples and idols in his kingdom and replaced them with icons and churches in the Byzantine style. In a further attempt to be more acceptable to the Church he reportedly rid himself of his harem of women. (Vernadsky 1967:58-59) He then instituted legal and economic changes as well as founding schools. At the time of his death Kiev had become an impressive city-state. But Christianity was to change forever the veneer of Russian society: "Oriental Christianity, with the Byzantine civilisation that was inseparable from it, produced in time a considerable transformation in Russia. The first effect of Christianity was to reform society, and draw closer family ties. It condemned polygamy, and forbade equal divisions between the children of a slave and those of the lawful wife.... Christianity prescribed new virtues, and gave the ancient barbaric virtues of hospitality and benevolence a more elevated character. (Rimbaud 1879:87)

Thus the overall effect was a civilising one, leading the pagan Russians along a path of development which might otherwise have taken centuries.

### **2.3.2 The political significance of Christianity**

The most significant change was the political influence the Church was to wield. The Russian princes were originally merely the head of a band of people on which tribute was levied. He had relatively little power, because he was subject to expulsion, and his subjects might forsake him if they were so inclined. They were not sovereign in the sense that the Roman emperors were. There was no real government until the priests from Constantinople brought with them an ideal of government in the form of an absolute ruler who made the law and was the law: "He inherited his power, not only from the people, but from God." (Rambaud 1879:89)

### **2.3.3 The cultural significance**

The literature that found its way into Russia consisted not only of religious and sacred books but also the lives of the saints, poetry, philosophical and scientific books, as well as romances which opened up the minds of the people and influenced their moral lives. Christianity also brought music which was more sophisticated and architecture to a people who had no tradition of building in any other material except wood and mud. (Rambaud 1879:91-92)

## **2.4 THE ORTHODOX CHURCH**

### **2.4.1 The Tartars and the Church**

Although Christianity did provide a measure of unity and prosperity among the different Russian tribes under the rule of Vladimir (who reigned from ca. 980 - 1015), it was as a result of this prosperity that the country suffered waves of attacks on her eastern frontiers from nomadic Turkic tribes in the thirteenth century. They were no doubt attracted by the wealth of Kievan



Russia which was a flourishing state at that time, consisting of about 200 towns. (Hingley 1968:18)

It is believed that the Tartars actually realised the value of the Church as an ally in maintaining the peace since they did their best to win them over. They exempted the priests and monks from capitation tax and helped to settle disputes that arose between orthodox prelates. The possessions of the Church were held to be sacred, even by the Tartars and the right of justice in the Church was formally recognised. The convents too grew in wealth since gifts of land were given to them and a reservoir of wealth and power steadily grew so that the Church was able to place her services and power at the disposal of whoever was ruling. (Hingley 1968:180)

Thus the great ecclesiastical patrimony of Russia, which was a wealthy reservoir of revenues and capital, was constituted. The Russian monarchs utilised this source of revenue in more than one national crisis, according to Rambaud who states that: "The Church, which even in her weakness, had steadily tended to unity and autocracy, was to place at the service of the crown a power which had become enormous. The Metropolitans of Moscow were nearly always the faithful allies of the Grand Princes." (Rambaud 1879:180)

According to Vernadsky (1969:315-316) the veneer of Byzantine Christianity, as well as its attendant civilising influence such as the written word and other forms of culture, was extremely thin. The reason was that the new religion flourished mostly in the larger centres where churches had been built, while a network of parish churches was only established in the sixteenth century. Thus a schism existed between the upper classes who lived in the towns and

the rural people who still followed the old Slavic traditions, worshipping and sacrificing to pagan gods.

Education during this period was confined to the monasteries so that the clergy could be educated to read, carry on correspondence and keep the records up to date. (Walsh 1968:40)

#### **2.4.2 Differences between the Eastern and Western Churches**

There are a few differences between the "Eastern" Christian churches and those which were ruled by Rome. The Russian Orthodox Church was ruled by "... principle of unity which was political, non-religious, and not truly universal." Furthermore, "... Orthodoxy presents itself under a form of federation of national churches, having as its basis a political principle - the state-church." (Lossky 1957:14)

According to Lossky, the Orthodox Church is not limited by any particular form of culture, or by the legacy of any one civilisation. In other words, it does not try to convert people into following a rigid way of life, instead it allows for cultural differences and this has perhaps been the reason for its success. There is no specifically orthodox culture. Lossky points out: "The forms are different; the faith is one." (1957:17)

While Russian Orthodoxy transplanted the Orthodox faith, and to some extent the Byzantine culture onto Russian society, the philosophy emphasised by Constantinople was "... sufficiently flexible and complex to permit different social groups in Russia to emphasise different facets, to imbibe and accentuate the ideas which spoke to their own predicament." (Acton 1986:6)

This ties up with Lossky's statement that while the forms of faith may be

different, the actual faith is not divided by controversies and differing interpretations.

A major difference (which perhaps had an indirect influence on the development of education) between the eastern and western church is that the former is not composed of a multiplicity of orders. This means that there was little debate on religious philosophy, the reason being that Russia had inherited its Orthodoxy as a body of doctrine which was not open to dispute: "Where the Latin Church sought to bolster faith with reason, to explain and rationalize dogma, the East was content with mystery." (Acton 1986:6) There was no questioning of the faith which could have led to intellectual debate and critique.

Thus the Church is not divided by schisms and different interpretations. Lossky (1957:16) states that this fact is explained by the conception of monastic life, the aim of which can only be union with God in a complete renunciation of the life of this present world. Eastern monasticism is almost exclusively contemplative and even if the monks were to be occupied with some or other form of manual labour it is with an ascetic end in view since idleness is regarded as the enemy of spiritual life. In order to attain union with God, in the measure in which it is realisable here on earth, continual effort is required, or more accurately, an unceasing vigil that the integrity of the inner man withstand "... all inimical assaults and every irrationality of our fallen nature." (Lossky 1957:18) Human nature is able to transform itself by the grace of sanctification and this may be accomplished by withdrawing from the world. Education does not form part of this state of grace: piety does.

Another difference lay in the fact that the "white" or secular clergy, as well as priests and deacons who served the parish churches were usually married. Later these clergymen were drawn almost exclusively from the sons of the clergy. "Their way of life and outlook therefore resembled that of ordinary parishioners much more closely than did that of their celibate counterparts in the West. Furthermore, the children of the clergy played an important role in the growth of the 19th century intelligentsia. (Walters [ed.] 1990:60)

### **2.4.3 The role of the Church in education**

Vladimir's programme of Christianising his subjects did include education as a priority and he insisted that "... the children of the best families be sent to schools for instruction in book learning." (Vernadsky 1967:71) This did not endear him to the mothers who unwillingly surrendered their sons to the monasteries to be educated, for their own faith in Christianity was not yet very strong.

The Russian Church sponsored and dominated education, mostly because the Church needed educated men to tend to the administration of the Church. Walsh writes: "Schools and education were therefore important to the Church, and it took pains to maintain and control them." (1968:40) These schools were primarily for the clergy for many years. Soloviev (1987:56) states that the clergy were the only people for whom education was mandatory - even the *boyars* did not have to be literate.

The education received by the clergy could not have been of a particularly high standard, however:

- ♦ Bowen (1981:1) writes that even the classes which were supposed to be literate were not

- ♦ Fr. Maloney makes a similar statement: " It is only in the 16th century that we find in Russia a canon of the books of the Bible, but even this indicates the low level of scholarship in Russia up to that time" (1976:15)
- ♦ Kirchner states that "... learned works comparable to contemporary ones of the Western Catholic world were seldom forthcoming, and even the monks, devoted as they were to mysticism and contemplation, possessed little formal knowledge." (1991:18) This state of affairs lasted well into the eighteenth century

Fedotov (in Fr. Maloney 1976:14) and Kirchner (1991:18) state that after their conversion to the Orthodox faith, the Russians failed to produce any original or creative work in either literature or dogmatic theology for nearly seven centuries. The Russian mind could not compete with the literature that had been translated from Greek into Slavonic which were available in Russia: "... the Russian intellect was dwarfed in its development for a long time... because of the absence of external occasion for exercise." (Maloney 1976:14)

This rather harsh condemnation of the Russian intellect could perhaps be attributed to the fact that education was not a common pursuit and that the Russians were under the suzerainty of the Tartars and that they had little access to the writings and dialectical controversies and scriptural interpretation that stimulated the minds of their Western counterparts. McClelland observes that: "... old Russian culture, so rich in the aesthetic sphere, had tended to minimise or even oppose the use of abstract reason. Russia's Orthodox Church had never developed or shared in the scholastic tradition of the Latins, and the Mongol invasion had cut the country off from any effective participation in the European Renaissance ..." (1979:xii) This

means that a wealth of knowledge and developments in the realm of philosophical and religious thought, not to mention more earthly pursuits such as trade and sea travel, remained beyond their experience.

Factors which influenced the development of education were:

- ♦ the Church was more concerned with the soul, regarding piety above knowledge
- ♦ the vast majority of clergy were simple monks who devoted their time to prayer, fasting and manual labour (Walters [ed.]1990:60) They seldom aspired to education
- ♦ the fact that the Slavonic vernacular was the medium of communication, which meant that much of the Greek and Latin culture was lost to it

#### **2.4.4 The effect of the dogma of Orthodoxy on education**

The dogmatic principles of the Orthodox Church could thus be seen as serving as a brake on educational development in Russia because education would not pave the way to heaven. The people were kept ignorant for it served the Church well to maintain superstition and an unquestioning faith. New ideas seldom threatened the power of the Church and the autocracy. The idea that the czar was God's representative on earth could have implied that his overthrow would be tantamount to rejecting God and this simply could not be allowed. Many of the rulers were extremely religious even while they perpetrated the most horrendous atrocities on their people. Ivan the Terrible was a prime example of this erratic behaviour, but he was by no means the only one of the rulers to follow this trend.

#### **2.4.5 The role of the Church in Russian culture**

Lossky (1957:17-18) writes that the monasteries played an important part in the sphere of culture and politics. Although they were schools of spiritual life,

their religious and moral influence was of great importance in the moulding of the people who were newly converted to Christianity. This is a salient point since the Russians were converted from worshipping various gods of nature to Christianity. (Vernadsky 1967:48-49)

Although their conversion to Christianity was initially a political move, the Russians did not really change their culture or way of thinking for many centuries. They retained many of their primitive superstitions and their outward way of life appeared to be largely unchanged. Hingley (1968:28) writes that the Russians made a strange and even barbarous impression on the Western Europeans who managed to penetrate Muscovy during the sixteenth century. They were confronted by a so-called Christian people who wore eastern style clothing and practised the kow-tow, an obeisance required of them of their previous Tartar masters. It took nearly eight centuries before the mores and the norms of Christian behaviour were to take root.

#### **2.4.6 The Church and autocracy**

The Church played a large part in creating the autocracy which was later to become a characteristic feature of the Russian monarchy. By the sixteenth century the czar had come to be considered a "... semi-sacrosanct personality with unlimited power, the earthly representative of God." (Kochan 1978:36)

Joseph of Volokolamsk, an influential Abbot who lived in the early sixteenth century, observed that "... the czar is in nature like to all men, but in authority he is like to the highest God." (in Kochan 1978:36) Theoretically then, the autocracy became "... the divinely ordained fountainhead of an undifferentiated concentration of authority - political, in that the czar was the only political authority; economic, in that he claimed ownership of the totality

of the land; military, in that he led the country in war; religious, in that he ruled by divine right and was committed to maintain and defend the rights of Orthodoxy." (Kochan 1978:36)

The reason for this could be found in the following: in Muscovy religion served as a cultural prop to the monarchy. It was the means whereby Russia defined itself as a nation. Raeff writes: "Specifically, the tsar and his subjects defined themselves as members of the Russian Orthodox Church, whose teachings functioned as... an ideology." (1984:2)

The monarchy identified itself absolutely with the Church and in Russia, unlike the Catholic West, a schism never existed between the government and secular law. The patriarch of the Church took an active part in political functions and decisions regarding legislation. His role was second only to the czar. Shanin writes "... the Orthodox clergy was more parochial, state-bound and state-obedient ..." than the Catholic West. This symbiotic relationship between Church and State existed until Peter the Great (1682 - 1725) separated the two during the early years of his reign. (1985:24)

The institution of autocracy has its roots in two factors:

- ♦ the role the Tartar Khans played in shaping the notion of the autocracy
- ♦ the idea that Moscow was the Third Rome, which means that the czar would be the heir to the legacy of Rome and Byzantium, thus claiming the right to rule

The czar, his family and his court lived in isolation, removed from public scrutiny. This physical separation meant that he had little knowledge of his subjects and they were not privy to the pomp and ceremony as the people in Western Europe were. As Raeff points out: "The physical isolation of the tsar, together with the court's lack of involvement in the daily life of the



capital, created a gulf between court and society far wider than Paris and Versailles in the time of Louis XIV, whose courtiers ... led an active life both at court and in the city." (1984:5)

A further implication of Orthodoxy was that the czars believed in building a strong empire and thus extending the power and influence of the Church. This was accomplished through a policy of Russification and meant that the Russian language and Church had to be adopted throughout the country. (Counts 1957:18)

## **2.5 THE RURIK DYNASTY**

Table 1 provides a brief summary of the most outstanding events and rulers during the Rurik dynasty (from the 9th century to the 12th century)

### **2.5.1 Prince Rurik (862 - 879)**

While the inclusion of the information on the early years of Russia's history may not seem to have direct bearing on the topic, it does establish the following:

- ♦ the social structure of the times
- ♦ the economic background
- ♦ political factors, i.e. leadership

These serve to establish the *Zeitgeist* of Russia during the tenth century and to explain why no education occurred during those times (unlike the West where monasteries were already educating the clergy and sons of the nobility).

The origins of Russia, like many other nations, are hidden in myth. It seems, however, that from the time of its pre-Tartar era its people were "... like wild animals in the forest." (Rimbaud 1879:44) They needed to protect their trade

routes from the Slavs and probably around 862 the Norseman, Prince Rurik, established himself in Novgorod (meaning "New Town") and became the first ruling dynasty. The Vikings were considered to be the upper class and were known to the Slavs as the *Rus* (probably derived from the Swedish word *rhoder* meaning rower). They established settlements and trading depots while the Slavs were more concerned with agriculture and ambushing other Slavic clans. (Foote 1972:2)

The Slavs lived in communes and village lands were owned jointly by the members of the clan. The individual possessed only his harvest and the enclosure immediately surrounding his house. (Rimbaud 1879:45) Foote writes that they were cut off from the rest of the world by the severity of the climate and the savagery of the people. He notes that the Latin tongue never reached them for nobody was prepared to penetrate such an austere corner of the globe. (1972:2)

One of the prime trading commodities by the Rus was slaves, i.e. the Slavs (from which the word *slave* originated) and a special section of the market at Byzantium was allocated to their sale. (Foote 1972:3) The pagan Vikings are thought to have conquered Kiev, under the leadership of Oleg (who had succeeded Rurik), which at that time was occupied by the Khazars. The Khazars were people of Turkic origin who were converted to Judaism during the 8th century. According to Koestler (1976:105), the annexation of Kiev by Rurik was bloodless.

The Khazars were literate, using the Hebrew square script; they were also wealthy and the most culturally advanced people with whom the Rus came into contact with. (Koestler 1976:92)

| CENTURY | RULERS               | NOTEWORTHY<br>EVENTS  |
|---------|----------------------|---|
| 9th     | Rurik and Oleg       | Arrival of St. Cyril and St. Methodius in ca. 855 - 885; the Cyrillic alphabet; the gospel translated into local vernacular |
| 10th    | Vladimir I           | Introduction of Christianity and establishment of education for clergy and upper classes                                    |
| 11th    | Yaroslav the Wise    | Catholic-Orthodox schism in 1054  |
| 12th    | Vladimir II Monomach | Decline of Kiev   |

**Table 1: Some outstanding figures and events during the Rurik dynasty**

(Adapted from Kirchner 1991:382)

Rurik's son, Igor, succeeded Oleg and on his death, succession passed to Olga, who served as regent for her son Svyatoslav. Contact had existed between Byzantium and Kiev for some time owing to trade and in 957 Olga returned from a visit to Byzantium a declared Christian. Her son, however,

was determined to remain a pagan and on his death his son Vladimir became ruler. He married Anna, the sister of one of the co-rulers of Byzantium which was a clever political manoeuvre on his part as it forced closer co-operation between the two countries. (Maclean 1988:4)

The close links and increasing exposure to the civilising influence of Byzantium meant that Kievan Rus became an integral part of Christian Europe.

## **2.5.2 THE REMAINING RURIK DYNASTY**

### **2.5.2.1 Yaroslav the Wise (1019 - 1054)**

Yaroslav reigned from 1019 - 1054, after two centuries of political strife which followed the reign of Sviatopluk "the Accursed". There had been no strong or significant leadership during those years. Yaroslav was referred to as "the Wise". He was a good politician and a scholar. (Kirchner 1991:19) He promoted education by founding schools and libraries. He also codified Russian Law. His period of reign is often referred to as a "Golden Age" (Kirchner 1991:20), probably because it was a relatively peaceful era.

### **2.5.2.2 Vladimir II (1113 - 1125)**

More than half a century later, Vladimir II Monomach succeeded in reuniting the country which had suffered another period of upheavals after the death of Yaroslav the Wise in 1054.

Vladimir was succeeded by his son Mstislav I, under whose rule internal strife again surfaced. He was an insignificant ruler for no mention is made of him, save in one reference, which comments that during his reign "... a precarious and unstable balance-of-power system resulted, by no means serving the cause of peace and order." (Kirchner 1991:21)

### **2.5.3 Developments in education**

Despite the attempts by Vladimir I (980 - 1015) to establish some form of education for the sons of the nobility, political instability and frequent warfare suggests that Russia was not yet a stable enough territory in which education could occur. The Church did not promote education as it did not regard education or the questioning of the faith as a prerequisite to piety. The dogmatic influence of the Church could thus be seen as being the most important influence to the lack of education in Russia during its early history.

## **2.6 THE FIRST MUSCOVITE DYNASTY**

Table 2 gives a brief outline of the most important events and significant rulers during the first Muscovite dynasty (from the 13th to the 16th century).

### **2.6.1 The role of Ivan III (1462 - 1505)**

The territory of Moscow expanded greatly under the rule of Ivan III (also referred to as Ivan the Great). During this period the seat of the Russian Church had moved to Moscow, which added to the prestige and importance of the city. Moscow managed to throw off the Tartar yoke in 1380 and by 1462 Ivan had united the principalities of Novgorod and Kiev under his suzerainty and declared himself czar.

Very little attention could have been paid to the development of education since Russia was at that time a fledgling nation which was fighting to establish itself as a cohesive unit. Whatever education occurred was monopolised by the Church for the clergy constituted the majority of the literate population. Education for the priests' sons was compulsory, and the sons of ruling families sometimes studied in Constantinople. Cases of

educated women were not unknown, especially in the convents. (Clarkson 1962:40)

| CENTURY | RULERS                 | IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS  |
|---------|------------------------|---|
| 13th    | Alexander Nevsky       | The arrival of the Tartars  |
| 14th    | Dimitry Donskoy        |   |
| 15th    | Ivan III (the Great)   | Implementation of autocratic law codes; end of Tartar rule                  |
| 16th    | Ivan IV (the Terrible) | Introduction of <i>Oprichnina</i> ; establishment of Patriarchate in Moscow |

Table 2: Outstanding events and rulers during the Muscovite dynasty

(Adapted from Kirchner 1991:382)

In 1438 - 1439, prior to Ivan the Great's accession to the throne, Russia isolated itself further from Europe when it refused to acknowledge the union of Eastern and Western Churches. This schism meant that the Russian Orthodox Church emerged as an entity of its own. Russia was now an independent Orthodox state and this meant further isolation from the West.

Once again Russia was showing its independence from the rest of civilised Europe by showing that it did not have to follow the strictures imposed upon them by the Church. It also meant that their access to knowledge and change was severed since this was the age of discovery when there was a growth of ideas and travel which brought further enlightenment to the West.

Ivan the Great unified Russia during his reign and liberated his people from the Tartars. His achievements were impressive: he managed to reduce the attacks by the Tartars and established his kingdom through various means. He also set about making contacts with western Europe and employed foreign craftsmen and architects and established official embassies. Thus Russia was set again on the path of development, aided by the superior skills and knowledge of a relatively sophisticated Europe.

A social change which was to lead to many centuries of misery and spark upheavals, was the increasing power of the landed lords. The peasants, who had been free during the preceding centuries, were moving toward serfdom. Those who wished to remain free moved to the frontier regions of Russia which were sparsely populated. They formed Cossack groups who frequently imitated the *modus vivendi* of the Tartars. (Kirchner 1991:35)

By the time that Ivan the Great's successor, Vasily III (1505 - 1533), was ruling Russia, it was already noted by one Baron von Herberstein (no dates provided) that the ruler's control over his subjects is greater than any other in Europe. He writes that "... he holds unlimited control over all his subjects' lives and property. None of his counsellors has sufficient authority to dare oppose him, or even differ from him... They openly proclaim that the prince's will is God's will." (Hingley 1968:40)

### 2.6.2 Ivan IV (1533 - 1584)

It is unlikely that education could have made any progress during this time for Ivan IV created a society which feared for its own existence. Under his reign the following factors played a role in delaying the establishment of education:

- ♦ Ivan's autocratic hold over the Russian people
- ♦ his destabilisation of society through the large scale decimation of the population
- ♦ the further enserfment of the people
- ♦ his national-expansionist endeavours

#### 2.6.2.1 The role of autocracy

The penchant for absolute power was refined to an art by Ivan IV, the grandson of Ivan III, whose cruelty earned him the name of Ivan the Terrible. There seem to be differing opinions about his cruelty and his madness among modern scholars. (Pokrovsky 1931:109) He created the *oprichniki*, a 6000 strong police force which was under his direct control. They inspired great fear among the people and seemed to enjoy terror for the sake of terror. (Dornberg 1976:29) This destabilisation of society could not have been conducive to social development or education.

Ivan abolished the *boyars'* powers so that they became little more than vassals and instead of enjoying the almost unlimited power that they had been accustomed, the ownership of land depended on their serving the czar. This move greatly endeared Ivan to the common people. (Dornberg 1976:29)

#### 2.6.2.2 The depopulation of Russia

This popularity was perhaps the most mysterious phenomenon about his rule, since he executed not only vast numbers of members of the minor gentry, but



also many of the common people. Many peasants and townsmen fled from the cities and established themselves in the wilderness of the South and south-east. These fugitives became known as Cossacks. This means that the population became even more spread out so that the civilising influence of the Church and later, education, took even longer to become established in these far-flung regions.

In 1553 the explorer Richard Chancellor pioneered a new trade route and was granted trading concessions by the czar. He was struck by the size of Moscow and the prosperity of the country and remarked that " '... the countrey betwixt [ Yaroslavl and Moscow] is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people that it is a wonder to see them.' " (in Hingley 1968:46)

By 1588, 35 years later, another English traveller, one Giles Fletcher, wrote that this very same countryside was empty and desolate, with very few inhabitants. This was largely attributable to the bloody carnage Ivan wreaked upon his own people. (Hingley 1968:46)

### **2.6.2.3 The further enserfment of the population**

The peasants were gradually enserfed as a result of the curtailment of the traditional freedom of peasants to leave a master's service on St George's Day (November 26) each year. Russia was evolving into a country where its people were becoming subject to the smallest whims and desires of the czar or of intermediary absolute masters. (Hingley 1968:51) Since education was available to the children of the nobility, the growing population of peasantry meant a larger and larger number of people who would never receive any education.

#### **2.6.2.4 Expansionism under Ivan IV**

Although no sources which were consulted reveal any development as far as education was concerned, Ivan the Terrible nevertheless created a nation. Siberia was colonised under his rule and he made Russia a power to be reckoned with. Russia enjoyed trade with England and Ivan engaged in correspondence with Queen Elizabeth I. The need to expand the territory suggests a great need for power which implies that Ivan IV had strong nationalistic tendencies as well as overwhelming autocratic principles.

#### **2.6.2.5 The influence of dogma under Ivan IV**

The overriding dogmatic influences of nationalism and autocracy played a role in preventing the growth and development of education during this period from 1533 to 1584. The *Zeitgeist* was not one which promoted social development. The reign of terror which typifies Ivan the Terrible's rule must have created an unstable, fearful population who would have been more concerned with their day-to-day living than with developing their minds.

#### **2.6.3 Boris Godunov (1598 - 1605)**

Ivan's successor was his feeble-minded son, Fyodor (1557 - 1584). His eldest son, the Tsarevich Ivan Ivanovich had died in 1581 when Ivan fatally wounded him by swinging an iron-tipped staff at him in a fit of temper. Fyodor's brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, a former *Oprichnik*, became regent in 1598.

Although he was more enlightened than his predecessor, he did not reverse Ivan the Terrible's policies to any large extent. He did, however, send 18 young Russians to study abroad (no dates supplied) and toyed with the idea of starting a university - an action which suggests that he was perhaps aware

of his country's needs for development, albeit in an academic sphere. He also tried to bring more justice to the country and attempted to expand its contacts with the West. (Dornberg 1976:30)

#### **2.6.4 The Time of Troubles (1605 - 1613)**

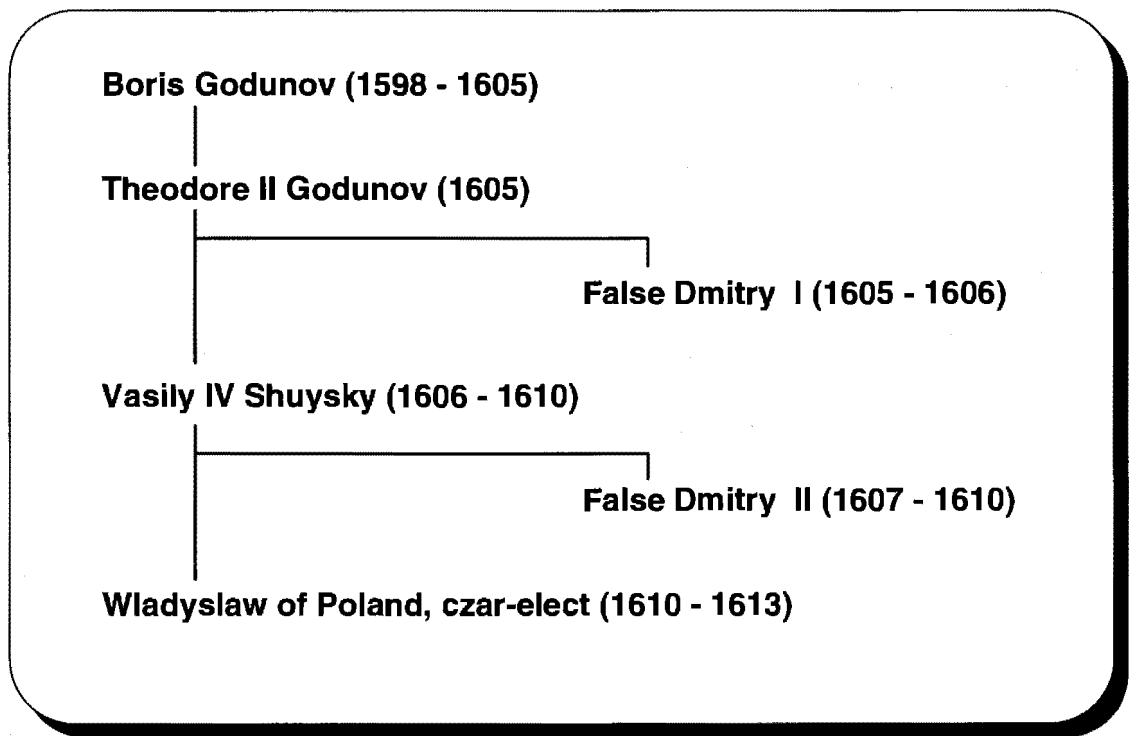
##### **2.6.4.1 Political factors**

The period following Czar Boris Godunov's reign was known as "the Time of Troubles". During this time (from 1605 - 1613) there were two pretenders to the throne which caused great political upheaval and uncertainty among the people. Apart from this, there were revolts and invasions by Poland (1604 - 1612) to contend with. (Kirchner 1991:74)

Hingley (1968:57) writes that the Troubles were so destructive that the population may have been reduced by over a third, from about 14 million to nine million, though this is largely guess work. Moscow was burnt and looted and famine and disease had taken a huge toll of life.

The anarchy and destruction which reigned during this terrible time caused the people to seek a strong ruler. Hingley (1991:58) states that it is not surprising that the populace was ready to embrace autocracy and to accept "... the evils of serfdom to the starvation and massacres of the troubled years."

In 1613 a boyar, Michael Romanov, was crowned czar. He was the first of the Romanov dynasty which was to rule Russia for the next 304 years, an epoch which would bring about many changes, especially in the sphere of education.



**Figure 7: Representation of czars and pretenders to the throne during Russia's "Time of Troubles"**

(Adapted from Hingley 1991:54)

#### **2.6.4.2 The influence of the *Zeitgeist* on education**

The following factors must have had a severely restricting influence on the development of education :

- ♦ the destruction of the population
- ♦ the burning of Moscow in 1610
- ♦ the threat to the Orthodox faith by the Catholic Poles (1610 - 1611)
- ♦ the famine from 1601 to 1603 which killed thousands of peasants
- ♦ the depletion of the treasury by the lengthy foreign and domestic wars during the Time of Troubles (Kirchner 1991:64)

Russia needed time to reconstruct its economy and to re-establish its political power. This means that it was unlikely that there was money to develop education or even the desire to improve the standard of the existing education in the monasteries.

## **2.7 DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION AND THE ROLE OF DOGMA**

Although the Russian Orthodox Church did play a role in the development of education, it was unlike the churches of the West. Hans (1963:97-98) writes that the history of the Church in Russia is the history of its cultural isolation. The Slavonic liturgy and the Slavonic alphabet very soon became the official symbols of the Church and of national Russian tradition. The Russian Czars ruled the heads of the Russian Church, and the Moscow patriarchs seldom dared to oppose them. Peter the Great abolished the Patriarchate in 1721 and established the Holy Synod, which in fact relegated the Church to the status of a government department. It is hardly surprising that the Russian Church did not initiate an independent educational system as the Church in the Catholic West had managed to do.

It was only in Poland, which was Catholic, that the Orthodox Church held any power. After a revolt by the lower clergy and the followers of the Orthodox Church when the Western Russian bishops accepted the union with Rome, the Polish kings were forced to recognise the Orthodox Church and a system of schools was devised by the Metropolitan Peter Mogila in 1672. Following this example a few Church schools were established in Moscow but they were later placed under the control of the secular government by Peter the Great: "From that time the Church schools were maintained by the government and were used by reactionary Tsars as tools for enforcing their policy of Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationality." (Hans 1963:98)

After the revolution in 1917 most of the Church schools were abolished since they had been highly unpopular with the masses. Their main focus became the training of the clergy and they were no longer allowed to interfere with state education. The extent to which its influence has been eclipsed is summed up as follows by Hans (1963:99) who states that

- ♦ the national character of the local Churches in Protestant countries and their long alliance with the secular power led to a compromise by which the public school system managed to retain religion as an integral part of the school curriculum
- ♦ in the Eastern part of Europe, where the Orthodox Church had no educational tradition of its own and was always subservient to the secular Government, the secularisation of education was the most radical and final solution, and remained unchallenged even by the official representatives of the Church. After the Second World War in 1945 the policy of the Soviet Union, as it was laid down in Russia, was followed by all Slavonic States, including Rumania, in which their school systems were secularised and their Orthodox Churches abolished

It must be pointed out here that if the population of the U.S.S.R. were to be grouped according to religious traditions in the late 1940s, the Protestants were in the majority, followed by the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church and finally the Moslems, who are a minority. (Hans 1963:99) For the purpose of this document, the effect of the dogma of the Russian Orthodox Church upon the evolution of education is investigated, primarily since it was religion followed by the czars and the ruling classes, especially in the earliest years of Russian history.

## 2.8 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the inchoate beginnings of education in Russia under the auspices of the Orthodox Church and the founding of the Christian faith in Russia. It also dealt with the emergence of the Russian nation and its struggle for identity and cohesion. The following points were covered :

- ♦ the geographical factors: These played a role in shaping the character of the people and their ability to survive, but isolated them from developments occurring in Europe
- ♦ the political factors: The Russians who had suffered waves of conquerors from the north-west, were later ruled by the Tartars, from whom they developed their model of autocracy and administration
- ♦ the religious factor: The advent of Christianity, introduced by Vladimir I in ca. 988; the concepts underlying the political status of the Church which was to influence the country for many centuries and which had been adopted from the Byzantine model. In terms of norms and culture, the Church had little influence over the majority of people: the Orthodox faith was practised largely by the upper classes. The introduction of Christianity gave the Russians a common faith and a common culture which united them, giving them homogeneity and a national identity (Kirchner 1991:12)
- ♦ the education factor: This was initiated by the Church for the clergy, and Vladimir insisted that the children of the nobility be educated. The level of education was questionable because few Russian texts were written by the learned clergy during that era that equalled those from the Catholic West

The Russian Orthodox Church also assisted in consolidating the notion of the autocracy as a result of regarding the czars as God's representatives on

earth. This, coupled with the attitudes that had prevailed whilst under Tartar suzerainty, reinforced the belief that they were entitled to hold absolute power over all land and all people.

The Rurik dynasty was characterised by upheavals and strife among the lesser princes who struggled for domination unless there was a strong ruler to keep them in order. The most outstanding rulers during this era were as follows:

- ♦ Rurik and Oleg in the ninth century
- ♦ Vladimir I in the tenth century
- ♦ Yaroslav the Wise in the twelfth century

The Muscovite dynasty was similarly characterised by strong rulers followed by weak rulers. The most noteworthy rulers were:

- ♦ Alexander Nevsky (13th century)
- ♦ Dmitry Donskoy (14th century)
- ♦ Ivan the Great, who freed Russia from the Tartars in ca. 1480
- ♦ Ivan the Terrible (1533 - 1584)

The prevalent dogmatic beliefs centred around

- ♦ the Orthodox faith: the Church was the prime educational institution, and the clergy themselves were poorly educated. Few people studied outside Russia, thus new ideas did not influence the Russian mind
- ♦ autocracy: the czar's rule became absolute and while the czar's children might be educated (Raef 1984:5), the general populace remained ignorant
- ♦ nationalism: constant warfare to gain territory or to preserve it is a hallmark of the Rurik and Muscovite dynasties.



Education did not really grow much during the Muscovite dynasty probably because the period was one of territorial expansion. Whatever education there was, was still confined to the monasteries and the clergy.

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## CHAPTER 3

### THE ROMANOV DYNASTY FROM 1613 TO 1881

#### 3.1 PROLOGUE

Russia embraced autocracy, because it was preferable to the destruction and traumatic upheaval of the chaos and anarchy which had occurred during the "Times of Trouble" (1605 - 1613), and it meant that order could be fashioned out of the chaos which had characterised Russian society. A period of relative calm and peace ensued during which autocratic absolutism was developed. This development is quite remarkable in view of the fact that all five of the pre-imperial Romanov czars came to the throne as young boys, the eldest being 16 years old. They were for the most part sickly or weak, at the very least ineffectual. They could scarcely be described as nation builders and the shackles of serfdom were inexplicably tightened under their rule. (Hingley 1968:59)

In 1649 a law was passed which gave the landowner absolute power over his peasants, reducing them to virtual slaves. Acton (1986:27) states that enserfment could have been the response to an acute labour shortage in grain producing areas, but this is an inconclusive argument since Russia had at that stage not yet started exporting grain to the West.

The Russian feudal system was to cause many revolts and it turned Russia increasingly inward. The Church too became an instrument of oppression through the increasing domination of the ruling classes. (Dornberg 1976:33)

Little development in comparison to the West occurred during this period. While the rest of Europe was beginning to change, to explore the world, building powerful navies and starting to colonise and develop far-off and

foreign places, Russia was still hampered by a poorly educated society which was suspicious of the West.

From the conflict of monarchy with feudal nobility, centralised nation-states had emerged in Western Europe in the 14th to 15th centuries. A common feature among them was the existence of parliamentary assemblies, which represented both landowners and cities. During the 17th century the supremacy of parliament was established in England, elsewhere, parliamentary institutions gave way to absolute monarchy, which found its supreme expression in Louis XIV of France (1643 to 1715).

Yet, in spite of its suspicion of the west and its customs, many western ideas did creep in even before the reign of Peter the Great. Czar Michael (1613 - 1645) already imported foreign expertise to remodel his army along western European lines during his reign. The Russian theatre too, was established with the help of outsiders, and the study of Polish and Latin became fashionable. There was also commercial trade with Germany to such an extent that a German quarter was established in Moscow; foreigners were not permitted to live amongst the Muscovites, instead they were housed in separate parts of the city where they had their own Protestant churches. This measure did then allow some form of communication with other ideas and way of life.

This chapter deals with the following rulers in detail:

- ♦ Michael Romanov (1613 - 1645)
- ♦ Elizabeth (1741 - 1761)
- ♦ Catherine II (1762 - 1796)
- ♦ Alexander I (1801 - 1825)
- ♦ Nicholas I (1825 - 1855)

- ♦ Alexander II ( 1855 - 1881)

The reason for the detail and depth accorded to these czars and czarinas is that they played a significant role in the development of education in Russia, largely because of their beliefs (such as nationalism and humanism) which led them to implement their ideas.

The following rulers are mentioned only briefly:

- ♦ Peter II (1727 - 1739)
- ♦ Ivan VI (1740 - 1741)
- ♦ Peter III (1761 - 1762)
- ♦ Paul I (1796 - 1801)

Ivan VI died while an infant, Peter I and Peter III were assassinated and Paul I was mentally unstable. (Hingley 1991:83) The remaining two Romanov czars, Alexander III (1881 - 1894) and Nicholas II (1894 - 1917) have not been included in this chapter since so many of the events that occurred during their reigns were significant contributors towards the communist uprising and the overthrow of the monarchy. They will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

The era was to herald many changes. Prior to the 1650s, there were no schools and any literacy that occurred was due to the efforts of private tutors who were usually low-ranking clergymen whose own education was very basic. The greatest change was initiated by the establishment of a theological academy at Kiev, which was still under Polish rule. The children of czar Alexis I (except for Peter I) were educated by Simon Polotsky, who was an eminent scholar and academic of the time. Other noblemen followed the czar's example who then employed graduates from the Kievan academy. (Florinsky 1964:156)



| Century | Rulers   | Significant events   |
|---------|--|--|
| 17th    | Alexis I (Romanov)   | Full serfdom established, start of industrial development  |
| 18th    | Peter I (the Great)<br>Elizabeth<br>Catherine II (the Great) | Beginning of Westernization;<br>Siberian exploration, founding of Academy of Sciences; Moscow University founded; "cipher schools" and secular schools established   |
| 19th    | Alexander I<br>Alexander II                                  | Emancipation of serfs; <i>zemstvo</i> system of local self-government instituted ; developments in literature: Pushkin, Dostoyevski, Tolstoy, Chekov; reform of educational system in 1864 schools established; secondary schools opened to women; universities granted greater autonomy |

**Table 3: Outstanding rulers and developments in Russia from 1613 to 1881**

(Adapted from Kirchner 1991:161, 383-384)

### 3.2 MICHAEL ROMANOV (1613 - 1645)

Elected as czar by the national assembly in 1613, Michael Romanov, then sixteen years old, was an unwilling candidate to the throne. (Hingley 1968:81)

His reign, which extended over a period of 32 years, was unremarkable in terms of the development of education. He was joined by his father, Bishop Philaret, who was released from his captivity in Poland to assume the role of patriarch. However he soon took over the role of *de facto* monarch. He was conservative but had a strong will and displayed an aptitude for administration and statesmanship. He disliked Western influences and was openly hostile to Roman Catholicism. (Vernadsky 1969:122) This suggests that new ideas, and possibly, education, would have been regarded as a threat to the stability of the monarchy, and especially to his position.

### 3.3 ALEXIS I (1645 - 1676)

Alexis, who succeeded Michael, was known as "the gentle Tsar". (Hingley 1968:95) He was extremely devout, and his reign was characterised by several outbreaks of revolt, as well as the tighter controls exercised over the serfs. He frequently found himself in conflict with Patriarch Nikon, a strong-minded, domineering priest, who regarded himself as more powerful than the czar. This led not only to a clash in personalities, but also of the institutions of the Church and the monarchy.

Nikon was concerned with reforming the Orthodox Church and insisted upon establishing authoritative versions of the liturgical texts since the innovation of printing had reached Russia. Other changes brought about by Nikon included reforms in the spelling of the name Jesus, and the number of fingers the devout should hold together as they crossed themselves. These reforms

did not really create as much of a schism between Alexis and Nikon as did Nikon's lust for power over the czar. (Hingley 1968:97)

Alexis did allow a number of foreigners to serve in the army, as well as merchants, apothecaries and doctors. They were permitted to reside in a special enclave, the German Quarter, which was established just outside Moscow. This means that the general population of Moscow was effectively cut off from any new ideas which may have been generated in the German Quarter and whatever educational benefits that may have accrued from such contact.

The Church and its beliefs continued to dominate Russian society and the drive towards expansion of the boundaries of Russia were also of great importance. (Vernadsky 1969:124) Once again autocracy, orthodoxy and nationalism, the most powerful dogmatic influences in the history of Russia's educational development, served to play a preventative and inhibiting role.

### **3.4 THEODORE III (1676 - 1682)**

Theodore, another somewhat mediocre ruler, was sickly and very devout. His reign is unremarkable except for a few minor domestic changes which were instituted, such as the abolition of precedence which affected appointments to high civil and military rank, changes in the penal code, the compulsory kow-tow to boyars by ordinary citizens and the founding of a few charitable and educational institutions. (Hingley 1968:105)

During the first seven decades of Romanov rule, autocracy flourished strongly, curtailing the personal freedom of ordinary people more than ever before. At the same time, Russia's boundaries and her power continued to grow. Theodore died childless and his half-brother Peter, who was favoured

by the Court and the Patriarch, was proclaimed czar, a measure which was not favoured by the *streltsy*. (The *streltsy* was a military organisation which had been founded by Ivan the Terrible in 1550.) (Walsh 1968:103)

These Romanovs did not initiate great changes in education because they were extremely devout and were ruled by their beliefs. The Church did not really promote education among the public and its grip on the czars was a powerful influence which guided their lives.

### **3.5 THEODORE (1676 - 1682) AND IVAN V (1682 - 1696)**

Alexis, who died in 1676, had married twice. His first wife bore him thirteen children of whom three were destined to reign:

- ♦ Theodore, who was sickly was czar from 1676 to 1682
- ♦ Ivan V, who was epileptic and nearly blind (Kochan 1978:95), reigned as co-czar with Peter from 1682 to 1696
- ♦ Sophia, regent from 1682 to 1689

There was a great deal of conniving and inter-familial fighting to gain supremacy, since the Naryshkins, who were Peter's mother's family, were rejected by the Miloslavsky family who held power and who representing the interests of Theodore, Ivan and Sophia. In 1682, the *streltsy* however, invaded the Kremlin when Peter had been proclaimed czar above Ivan and most of his family were killed. (Walsh 1968:104) He was then proclaimed joint czar with Ivan, under the Regency of Sophia, Ivan's sister. Peter only became sole ruler in 1696. (Kochan 1978:95)

### 3.6 THE ORIGINS OF THE RUSSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

#### 3.6.1 Peter the Great (1682 - 1725)

In order to appreciate the changes which were brought about by this powerful historic figure, it is necessary to understand his background, for his youth greatly influenced the man he was to become.

Czar Peter ascended the throne in 1682 when he was only nine. There was a great deal of controversy and conspiracy that surrounded his accession, since the *streltsy*, who were garrisoned in Moscow, raised a revolt, marched on the Kremlin and murdered Peter's uncles and many family members on his mother's side. They elevated Ivan, Peter's feeble-minded brother, to co-czar and made his half sister, Sophia, regent. In 1689 Peter's supporters overthrew Sophia and confined her in a convent. Peter's mother took over the management of state affairs, for the seventeen-year-old Peter was more interested in developing his skills as a military strategist. He was also keenly interested in boats and ship-building and this passion eventually led to the development of the Russian navy. Peter took up the reins of state in 1694, after the death of his mother and that of his half-brother.

In 1697 - 1698 he visited western Europe under an assumed name. This led to the recruitment of many foreign specialists for service in Russia and later had a significant effect on his perception of Russian culture and its backwardness as far as education was concerned. While he was in Vienna he received news that the *streltsy* had raised another revolt. Peter hastened back to Moscow and ordered a thousand *streltsy* to death. Upon investigation it was found that the revolt had been instigated by his half sister, Sophia.

It is significant that Peter established his autocracy further by abolishing some of the traditional customs that had prevailed for centuries: he refused to allow his boyars to kow-tow to him in the oriental or Tartar style and he ordered them to cut off their beards. He even abolished the title of boyar.

Peter also adopted the Julian calendar which was an important symbolic change since Muscovy had calculated time from a notional beginning of the world. Hingley remarks: "For so backward a state to have been, as it were, 6508 years ahead of western Europe was absurd, and the Julian Calendar put it, more appropriately, eleven days in arrears." (1968:75)

Although this is a rather scathing indictment of the Russians and their lack of culture and education, the changes brought about by Peter were a serious attempt to rectify his country's academic backlog.

### **3.6.2 Reforms**

Foote writes that most of Peter's reforms were "... aimed at making society subordinate to the state." (1972:58) The following occurred:

- ♦ many of the changes instituted by Peter were to increase the efficacy of the Russian army and the establishment of the navy in order to make Russia a powerful nation
- ♦ Peter I was not particularly religious and was known to often mock the Church and its institutions and rituals. Thus the dogmatic effect of the Church began to wane as he instituted reforms which were more in line with his own beliefs, i.e. nation building for the glory of the motherland. In fact, when the Church opposed his educational goals, he responded by forcing the clergy, who taught in the church schools, to become salaried employees of the state and in this way introduced secular

education which is still a feature of the Soviet educational system today (Pearson 1990:374)

- ♦ he was also instrumental in the development of a merchant fleet and encouraged foreign trade
- ♦ factories were built during his reign utilising serf labour and local government was divided into provinces
- ♦ he drafted the Table of Ranks for civil servants, court officials and naval and military officers. Interestingly, the registrar of a college was placed at the bottom of the scale in the civil service, a measure of his importance in terms of the civil service. (Hingley 1968:78) The Table of Ranks provided each Russian subject with an opportunity to leave his designated place in society (provided he was not a serf) as long as he was prepared to work diligently
- ♦ he made upward mobility possible and there were many examples of ambitious young men who improved their position in life by becoming members of the new ruling caste of the country. Yet the introduction of the new nobility meant a reduction in privileges of the nobility: princes and serfs alike were capable of being flogged in public for misdemeanours (Troyat 1988:292)
- ♦ the aristocracy were further affected by a system of entailment of landed estates. Landowners were now compelled to draw up a will designating a son or daughter to inherit the property. Failure to do this would mean that it went to the eldest son or daughter and the other children would be permitted to divide up the movable property. The remaining sons were thus forced to work through service to the country, study, industry or trade
- ♦ the institution of serfdom was firmly entrenched in the Russian caste system. There were two types of farmers: free farmers and serfs. The

former worked the lands of the state or monasteries, while serfs belonged to landlords. Serfs were liable to be conscripted by the army as well as by the state for the building of roads and the construction of canals. A Russian proverb stated that "The soul belongs to God, the head to the Tsar, the back to the lord." (Troyat 1988:295) They were beaten for the smallest offence and were treated like slaves. If serfs were sold along with land that had been earmarked for a factory, they had to work there, often without receiving wages

- ♦ Czar Peter also brought in changes that related to the Church: the right to preach would be granted only to priests who had studied in the academies; monks were forbidden to write or copy books and in January 31, 1724, he declared that monks and nuns should raise orphans and care for the sick and wounded. He firmly believed that the Church, like all other national institutions, should contribute towards the welfare and greatness of Russia (Troyat 1988:295)
- ♦ other reforms included the simplification of the Slavonic alphabet in 1708 and the ancient Slavonic script was retained only in books which were used by the Church
- ♦ the establishment of the Moscow printing press and the hiring of German actors to appear on the Russian stage and to train young Muscovites in Dramatic Art. He also established the first Russian museum which was incorporated into the Academy of Science

### **3.6.3 DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION**

#### **3.6.3.1 Reasons for education**

Russia had virtually no educational institutions barring two theological academies in Kiev and Moscow and a few church schools which led a precarious existence as only a few students attended.



Many of the reforms brought about by Peter necessitated some or other form of education. He needed educated people for the army, the navy and the civil service. His modernised army and navy required people who had technical knowledge and he believed that the sons of nobility would fill these positions once they had received an education. McClelland (1979:21) observes that the problems which confronted Russian educational planners was that a formal educational system was needed to fulfil clearly delineated political, cultural, military and economic functions that would strengthen the state against Western competition.

There was, furthermore, a deep-seated conviction that Russian education should be based upon what they perceived to be a more sophisticated and advanced European model.

This seems to indicate that Russian education, and indeed, its educators, were thought to be inferior to that of Europe. The czar, who had seen to what extent education had developed in Europe, could not close his eyes to the fact that his country was backward in terms of the civilising influences of education.

Peter I wanted to make education obligatory, but not for everybody. Furthermore, he showed little interest in developing or encouraging "... the free play of human intellect." (Clarkson 1962:247) Schools were mainly to further his technical objectives and were not broadly educational in design.

### **3.6.3.2 Problems**

Florinsky (1966:407) writes that the development of the school system was hindered by the following factors:

- ♦ the lack of textbooks

- ♦ properly trained teachers
- ♦ the overemphasis on mathematics: the study of mathematics, for example, was hindered by the fact that use was made of Slavonic script rather than Arabic figures, which did not gain acceptance in Russia until the eighteenth century (Florinsky 1964:157)
- ♦ the forcible recruiting of the student body
- ♦ the incredible harshness of school discipline
- ♦ the reluctance of the parents to allow their children to follow a scholastic career

These were all elements which militated against any real progress in the educational endeavours initiated by Peter I.

### **3.6.4 The establishment of schools**

#### **3.6.4.1 The gymnasia**

Peter I thus had to start from a virtually non-existent system and in 1705 he summoned the Scot, one Farquharson, who was given the task of organising the first School of Mathematics and Navigation. This school was transferred to St Petersburg and became the Naval Academy in 1715. However, the students needed to be able to read and write before they could embark on their mathematical studies and for this purpose Pastor Gluck of Marienburg was employed in 1705. (Florinsky 1964:184)

Gluck was a Saxon missionary who had been trained in philosophy and theology at German universities. He was assigned initially to teach in an existing school in the German sector of Moscow. (Clarkson 1962:248) Gluck intended to teach geography, strategy, politics, Latin rhetoric, Cartesian philosophy, the French, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldean

languages, the art of dancing, the rules of French and German etiquette as well as "... knightly equitation and dressage." (Troyat 1988:296)

Initially this rather ambitious programme attracted only about 40 pupils. A special *ukase*, which invited the nobility and upper classes to enrol their offspring in the gymnasium brought no further results. The gymnasium was not a success. It seemed that the Russian nobility had little time or inclination for education. It is small wonder that Peter was not interested in developing minds in the sense of producing men with a well-rounded education: his interests probably only reflected what went on in the average Russian mind.

The gymnasium proved to be a disastrous experiment because no primary education existed. Peter decided to establish professional schools, but again he was not concerned with providing an educational basis for his students to work from and as there was no such thing as primary or secondary education, the students were passed directly into tertiary education. Engineering, navigation, and higher mathematics were to be taught at the naval academy. Other similar institutions were established, such as the schools of artillery, civil engineering, surgery and mines. Instruction was in German and English but there were still very few interested students. As pointed out before, the education Peter wanted for his subjects was a type of education that would further the glory of Russia, which meant development in spheres where Russia was lacking what her European counterparts were much further advanced in.

Most of the students were ignorant and had no inclination for study, and the students who managed to graduate were sent to the provinces to teach others. This was the first serious effort to establish secondary schools in Russia.

#### **3.6.4.2 Garrison schools**

A few pupils were also recruited from the echelons of the poorer nobility, the offspring of minor officials and artisans for the purpose of instruction in mining. (Clarkson 1962:249) Garrison schools admitted children of army privates and even those of vagrants side by side with the offspring of noble families. (Florinsky 1966:407) This must have been the start of vocational education, aimed at providing an educated workforce.

#### **3.6.4.3 CIPHERING schools**

In 1716 there were twelve secondary schools and thirty more were established. These were elementary "ciphering schools" and catered for the sons of nobles and officials aged between 10 and 15. However in 1723, of the 47 teachers sent off to do their teaching in the rural areas, 18 came back, ostensibly because they could find no employment. By 1725, at the time of Peter's death, there were 42 such schools, with about 2 000 pupils, of whom only 500 remained two years later. (Clarkson 1962:248) It certainly looks as if the average Russian was not at all interested in developing his mind. Perhaps it was because they had little or no contact with foreigners and had no curiosity about the world outside of their day-to-day lives. The peasants also had no hope of really furthering themselves in terms of society and education, except for a few of them, must have seemed like a waste of time.

#### **3.6.4.4 The Academy of Sciences**

Peter also decided to create an Academy of Sciences. Fifteen scientists from Germany were engaged to teach there. These highly educated men were surprised when they saw that there were no students. Peter determined that students would be imported from abroad and furthermore, he believed that

the professors could fill up their spare time by listening to each other's lectures. (Troyat 1988:297)

Perhaps Peter realised that an educational system could not be started without properly educated teachers, for while he was trying to establish educational institutions, he continued to send young men abroad, in groups of 150 per year. These young men were taught subjects such as shipbuilding, foreign languages and navigation. Many of the accounts from these foreign countries were scathing about the behaviour of the Russian students, who were frequently in trouble for brawling, drinking and disgraceful behaviour. (Troyat 1988:298) These students returned to Russia with sufficient knowledge to be utilised in the spheres of the military, science, art and industry.

#### **3.6.4.5 Other educational institutions**

Other educational institutions which were established during his reign included

- ♦ a medical school, under the direction of a Dutchman. Anatomy, surgery and pharmacy were taught there
- ♦ an academy for the daughters of the nobility

Clarkson (1962:28) concludes that its slipshod method of instruction tended to produce pupils who had only a modicum of theoretical knowledge, without developing potential talent. The problem was that Peter had tried to establish an education system from the top down instead of creating one which ran more logically from the bottom, i.e. primary school level, to secondary level and then tertiary education. Still, it was a start of some sort and it was only during the reign of Catherine the Great that education for girls was developed further.

### 3.6.5 Church schools

Church schools were established and administered by the Orthodox Church. While the schools instituted by Peter I floundered for various reasons, the Church schools were faring somewhat better:

- ♦ in 1721 an ecclesiastical regulation encouraged bishops to establish diocesan schools in their bishoprics in the provinces and about 46 were eventually founded
- ♦ the Church schools during this period did show signs of growth and development, largely because they had a tradition stretching back many years whereas the lay or parochial schools were a novelty. Under the leadership of the more enlightened clerics these parochial schools were able to enlarge their programmes and achieved the status of theological seminaries with a course of studies which extended over a period of nine years. (Florinsky 1964:186) In 1737 a law was instituted which gave them legal status
- ♦ in 1738 there were 17 seminaries with 2600 students which played a large role in providing academic cadres for both the lay and religious institutions (Florinsky 1966:408)

Yet the appearance of the lay schools meant that the Church was starting to lose its monopoly of cultural activities for it was largely responsible for the stagnation and illiteracy in Russia.

### 3.6.6 Dogmatic influences

Before considering the actual influence as an abstract force, it must be borne in mind that Peter the Great achieved the following during his reign:

- ♦ conquest of the Baltic lands
- ♦ the incorporation of two thirds of Poland

- ♦ the expansion of Russia to the Black sea
- ♦ the annexation of the Crimea (Kirchner 1991:84-86)

The type of education instituted by Peter was thus largely for the benefit of his army and navy, for during his reign there was only one year in which peace was enjoyed (in 1724). The prime force behind the implementation of his ideals, as far as education was concerned, was nationalism. Nationalism for Peter the Great meant creating a strong army who would become a formidable fighting machine to guard the borders and fight well in wartime. He needed people who had the expertise to further his fighting and naval machinery, people who could design and create weaponry, ships and doctors who could treat his injured soldiers. The education of Russia during his reign was thus only concerned with the ultimate glory of the Motherland, which was an indivisible part of him, the czar.

In spite of his status as "Great", many criticisms have been levelled at Czar Peter by contemporary writers:

- ♦ Troyat maintains that most of the changes he brought about in education were for self-aggrandizement: "In Russia it was a time for figures, not for dreams. Peter did buy some libraries, paintings, statues, but not by inclination; he only wanted to do as other European Monarchs did. When he looked at a newly acquired work of art, his first thought was of his own greatness" (1988:300)
- ♦ McClelland (1979:22) writes that Peter the Great was convinced that the establishment of a scientific research institute in Russia would earn respect and honour in Europe and dispel the notion the Russia was a barbaric country which had no interest in science
- ♦ in concluding his chapter on Peter the Great, Hingley writes: "If, three-quarters of a century after the first Tsar-emperor's death, only a

small percentage of the Russian population seemed fitted to enter the nineteenth century, while the rest - largely peasants - still belonged to the ninth, Peter must bear much of that responsibility" (1968:81)

- ♦ Walsh states that little that Peter did was really new: "He began few things and finished less. There is more continuity than change in Peter's policies. The change was more in detail than in principle; more in the vigour of implementation than in the conceptions" (1968:121)

Although these criticisms may be valid, they need to be seen in the context of the times: Peter the Great was not necessarily concerned with uplifting the peasantry - he needed skilled people to operate the navy and army. His beliefs did not include altruism for he saw the peasants as the unskilled labour force that they were and he needed them to remain that way. His beliefs thus served to elevate the nobility as far as it was possible and this he accomplished to a greater extent.

### **3.7 THE EMPRESSES**

#### **3.7.1 Background**

Catherine I was chosen by a caucus of nobles as successor to Peter. She was the first woman sovereign of Russia and helped to set the pattern for the century's dynastic development. Each of the four successive empresses was briefly succeeded by an ineffectual male incumbent. The first one, Peter II, died of smallpox while very young and the other three were assassinated.

#### **3.7.2 Catherine I (1725 - 1727) and Anna Ivanova (1730 - 1740)**

Although Catherine's two years as ruler were fairly unproductive, she did however, encourage most of Peter's policies, including the founding of the Academy of Sciences and Bering's expedition to determine if the Asiatic



mainland was joined to the Americas. Catherine was followed by Anna Ivanova, Duchess of Courland, daughter of Ivan V and half-niece of Peter the Great. She was chosen by the Privy Council (a body of royal advisors) because she appeared weak and amenable. It proved to be different once she had the crown on her head and she insisted that all her promises to them had been made under duress. Fortunately the Royal Guard supported her. The government was run by her lovers and this period of Russian history saw again the increase of taxes, arrests and torture.

### **3.7.3 Elizabeth (1741 - 1761)**

#### **3.7.3.1 Outline of educational developments**

Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I, succeeded Anna. She upheld Russian traditions without abolishing her father's reforms, but few noteworthy developments occurred during her reign, such as the opening of the University of St. Petersburg in 1747, and the University of Moscow in 1755. This had been done upon the insistence of Ivan Shuvalov (her lover) who had travelled abroad and was a Francophile. It started with ten professors and consisted of three faculties, viz. law, medicine and philosophy. Two gymnasia were also founded, one of which was exclusively for nobles and the other for non-taxpayers. Inevitably, however, these institutions of higher learning, like the Artillery School and other specialised schools served chiefly the interests of the nobility. (Clarkson 1962:268-269)

A decree was passed in May 1756 which encouraged attendance by granting privileges to graduates in the military and civil service but the response was not encouraging for only one student enrolled in the faculty of law and the same situation existed in the faculty of medicine in 1768. The Moscow

secondary schools did fare better in that they paved the way for the establishment of similar schools in Kazan in 1758. However, Ivan Shuvalov, who became Elizabeth's lover in 1749 and who had ambitious plans for creating secondary schools in other cities and elementary schools in the towns, was forced to postpone his scheme indefinitely. Sadly, Moscow University, handicapped as it was by lack of adequately qualified teachers and students, remained for decades a pitiful travesty of an institution of higher education. It was not until the eighteenth century that it became one of the most prominent centres of Russian education. (Florinsky 1966:491)

### **3.7.3.2 Dogmatic influences**

Elizabeth disliked the Prussians intensely and carried on a protracted war against them with France and Austria from 1756 - 1763. Prussia was only saved from defeat by Elizabeth's death in 1762. (Walsh 1968:130)

Education was regarded as a means to an end. The purpose behind the education of young men was to glorify Russia through war and fighting, to protect her borders with efficient weapons and well taught strategies: this indeed was the reason for education, not for making polite drawing room conversation about the arts or philosophy as men of culture or refinement were able to do elsewhere on the globe.

Empress Catherine II notes in her memoirs that at the court of Elizabeth no one ever spoke of art or science because everyone was so ignorant and that it was very likely that half of the company could barely read or write. (Florinsky 1966:491) Yet history records Elizabeth as being a kinder and better ruler than her predecessor. Although she was ignorant, she was tolerant of other religions and encouraged agriculture, education and the theatre.

### **3.7.3.3 Educational institutions established between 1741 - 1762**

The following institutions were founded during Elizabeth's reign:

- ♦ schools for the nobility
- ♦ a university in St. Petersburg (1747) and one in Moscow (1755)
- ♦ the Academy of Sciences was revitalised
- ♦ an Academy of Fine Arts was established
- ♦ the first laboratory for the study of science and chemistry in Russia, which was founded with the help of Michael Lomonosov (1712 - 1765)
- ♦ an artillery school

### **3.7.4 The problem of succession**

The problem of succession had a direct bearing on the importance and development of education in Russia.

Elizabeth had no children and the question of succession becomes an entangled web of intrigue. Elizabeth chose as her successor her nephew Peter, a German princeling, who was her sister's child. It was quite obvious that he lacked any ability to rule. (Johnson 1969:11) This, coupled with his inferior mental capacities, made him a very strange choice indeed. To counteract this problem, Sophia Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst was chosen to be his bride. She was cultured and well educated (compared to Russian standards). It is likely that Elizabeth had seen her as a pliant and docile wife for a boy who was quickly developing into a difficult man. Another factor involved in this choice was the fact that Sophia's mother was ambitious and that she probably felt that she had married beneath herself. Frederick the Great of Prussia, however, liked the idea of a German czarina for political reasons. (Foote 1972:64) Sophia herself was politically astute for on her arrival in Russia, she showed great approval of all things Russian and made

sure that Elizabeth liked her. She was willingly baptised Catherine into the Russian Orthodox Church, a clever step towards the advancement of favour to Elizabeth and the Russian people.

When Catherine did not fall pregnant, Elizabeth contrived a clandestine liaison with Sergei Saltikov, a member of the old Russian nobility. After two miscarriages Catherine finally bore him a son. (This was after nine years of marriage to Peter.) Although Peter denied that the child was his, the child nonetheless had many of Peter's worst characteristics. (Foote 1972: 66) The infant was immediately removed from Catherine after birth and she had absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with his upbringing.

Deprived of her child, Catherine began to read a great deal, particularly the works of the French philosophers like Montesquieu (1689 -1755) and Voltaire (1694 - 1778). Their view that mankind's problems could be solved through reason and not by religion, was to have an important impact on her policies when she became empress.

At the time of Elizabeth's death she was pregnant once more, the father of the child being Gregory Orlov, her lover at the time. Catherine made a convincing show of grief over Elizabeth's death, which won the hearts of the Russian people. Her husband however, continued to make enemies with his obnoxious behaviour and licentiousness. He had lost the support of the army and on 28 June 1762 he was deposed. Alexei Orlov took him prisoner and on 6 July Catherine received word that he had died after a drunken fight with his guards. The details of his death were not clear and although he was mourned by few, rumours abounded throughout Europe and Russia about his strange demise.

Catherine's accession was not, however secure, for Ivan VI of Russia, who had been imprisoned by Elizabeth whilst he was still an infant, had greater claim to the throne. In 1764, two years after Catherine's accession, he was murdered in a scuffle between his guards and some rebels who wanted to see Catherine ousted. So all competitors to the throne were eliminated and another great period in the history of Russia began.

### **3.7.5 Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796)**

#### **3.7.5.1 Important influences**

Catherine was now able to implement some of the ideas which were prevalent in an enlightened Europe. The idea that all men were equal, that all men were born free, appealed to her but while she believed that the law should be impartial to a person's birth, she could not abolish the serf system for she needed the support of the nobility.

She wanted to follow the example of the enlightened despotic rule of Frederick the Great (1740 - 1786) of Germany and Maria Theresa (1740 - 1780) in Austria who ruled autocratically but liberally over their kingdoms. She wanted to be accepted as a European monarch and to dispel the image Russia had of a barbaric Asiatic country. She corresponded regularly with leading European thinkers as well as many of the rulers. However nothing much came of her ideas and discussions on serfdom and no significant political reforms were made.

#### **3.7.5.2 Changes in education**

Catherine carried on much of the work that had been started by Peter the Great (1689 - 1725). However, her aims differed from his. Whereas he was driven by the need to build a modern army and navy which meant that

education was essentially technical and vocational, Catherine saw education as a means whereby society could be changed for the better.

Soon after her accession to the throne, she sent a delegation to England to study their education system. An investigation carried out on her behalf in the Empire revealed that the private schools, run by foreigners, were far superior to those run by native Russians. The private schools were then placed under the supervision of the commission and no new private schools were allowed to be opened unless it had the approval of the Commission. They had to approve the curriculum, methods and teachers and while this set some sort of educational standards, it prevented experimentation as to what type of education suited the different strata of society and allowed for only one type of education, namely that which served the interests of the ruling classes.

The following institutions were established:

- ♦ two seminaries for girls, one in Moscow and one in St Petersburg
- ♦ schools for children of all classes were founded in the provinces;
- ♦ special schools for the sons of merchants were also started and these scholars were encouraged to travel abroad at the end of their studies to observe other Western trading methods
- ♦ the existing schools for the nobility were greatly improved and many new ones were established

The practise of studying abroad actually had a very detrimental effect on the education system. The admiration which was felt for all things Western meant that large numbers of students left the country to study and this depleted the Russian schools and universities to the extent that a traveller, Daniel Leary wrote: " 'Glasgow, Leipzig, Gottingen, Edinburgh, Oxford, Paris, Strassburg - all contained Russian students ..., (while) ... exactly two students

were enrolled at the University of the Academy of Sciences at St Petersburg!" " (in Johnson 1969:58)

The main reason for this was undoubtedly the poor quality of teaching that existed in Russia for teachers were recruited from theological seminaries and often the pupils themselves took over the role of instruction in the absence of teachers.

The Statutes for Public Schools in the Russian Empire of 1786 called for a six-teacher school in each of the fifty main towns and a two-teacher school in each small town. With a maximum average ratio of 2.6 teachers per school throughout the Empire before 1800, some schools found themselves with no teachers at all, although in a few of the larger centres the new schools did very well. (Foote 1972:58)

The University of Moscow reached a state of liberalism unknown before Catherine's accession. She took great interest in the following reforms as well:

- ♦ education for women
- ♦ the need for properly trained teachers
- ♦ the necessity of creating an educated society
- ♦ the control of private schools
- ♦ the importance of Russian as a *lingua franca*
- ♦ free elementary and secondary education

The latter's influence and curriculum was less than that of the gymnasia and they only served the towns, which meant that some 90% of the Russian people were denied access to education. This step is nonetheless regarded as an important development in pedagogical practise in Russia. Johnson

(1969:62) states that for the first time the State had assumed responsibility for education.

### **3.7.5.3 Education as a social force**

Whereas Peter had seen education as a means towards an end, i.e. for educating and training the military and for advancement of the Empire, Catherine took the view that education was a social force which could help to mould the future and to produce men of culture, to form character and to control behaviour. (Johnson 1969:61) These ideas were perhaps attributable to her own education and her interest in the current trends in philosophy.

Yet, despite her leanings towards liberalism and her toyings with humanism, Bartlett writes as follows: "An upholder of *ancien regime* values, Catherine had no wish to undermine the existing social structure; a monarch of her time, she sought primarily the greater strength and prestige of her country." (in Bartlett & Hartley 1990:148) This means that while she wished the peasants to have better working conditions so that their productivity would improve, she had no intention of allowing them to be emancipated.

### **3.7.5.4 Catherine's last years**

However, the revolutionary movement in France which started in 1789, and which led to the overthrow of the aristocracy (a logical development from the ideas of the Enlightenment) caused grave concern to Catherine. It had a negative effect on the development of the country, for the peasant revolts of the 1770s led to many restrictions to prevent the infiltration of radical thought from Europe. Catherine too, feared the consequences of her attempts to develop an educated nation and the revolts led her to believe that the Russian people did not understand the difference between "liberty and licence:" (Kochan 1976:83)



Grey writes that the fall of the Bastille on July 14 1789, had not alarmed Catherine greatly, but "... she did not underestimate the significance of the events in France. She recognised too, that the oppressive conditions which had given rise to revolution in France, were present in more extreme forms in her own empire." (1971:219)

She began to enforce repressive policies in order to suppress the ideas that she herself had introduced in the early years of her reign. Ties with France were severed and all Frenchmen were deported. Radical political thinkers and writers such as Alexander Radischev, who presented a threat to the monarchy as a result of their writings, were sent to Siberia.

However, the free thinking empress had started to create an educated public which was not going to disappear overnight. She died in 1796, no doubt greatly disillusioned by her people.

### **3.8 EMPEROR PAUL I (1796 - 1801)**

Johnson (1969:64) takes an extremely negative view of Paul I. He believes that the short reign of Paul I (1796 - 1801) saw to the undoing of much that had been good during the reign of Catherine the Great. During the last fifteen years of her reign, a number of restrictions were imposed to limit the infiltration of radical ideas. She had closed all the private printing presses which meant that the printing industry declined. Under Paul I even fewer books were published and foreign books were not allowed to be imported. All Russians who were studying abroad were recalled and foreigners were prohibited from entering the country. (Johnson 1969:64) This might have meant a corresponding lack of further development in education, but Kirchner (1991:125-126) offers a more enlightened view. Kirchner states that Paul I ushered in the modern age during his reign because of the following:

- ♦ the way in which the czars had ruled now changed so that more morality and responsibility (as far as administration was concerned) was exercised
- ♦ territorial gains no longer reflected only the personal greatness of the ruler, but became linked to national greatness
- ♦ the remodelling of the navy and army occurred and the training of the soldiers was improved
- ♦ foreign trade was encouraged
- ♦ tolerance towards non-Orthodox believers was maintained

Kirchner further states that "Catherine's hesitant proposals in the educational field ... were translated into practice." (1991:126) Paul I did not further education or bring about any changes, but the University of Dorpat (for German scholars) was reopened. Thus while he did not create changes in education, Russia at least experienced a more forward-looking period in some ways, while suffering further restrictions in others. Dress codes became more restrictive, inflexible regulations in the army and a "... punctilious and stifling court ceremonial system undermined independent thought and action." (Kirchner 1991:125)

These changes suggest that Paul I may have felt that the autocracy of the monarchical system was being threatened which resulted in the measures outlined above. Education may have been regarded as a threat to the stability of the monarchy and greater prominence was given to other state and military matters.

When Paul was murdered on the night of 11-12 March 1801 by a group of drunken soldiers, the crown was passed on to his son Alexander I.

### **3.9 ALEXANDER I (1801 - 1825)**

Alexander I rescinded all the restrictive decrees which had been imposed by Paul I. He also established a Ministry of Public Education in 1802 which supplanted the Commission on the Establishment of Schools which had been created by Catherine II.

Eklof (1986:22) maintains that Alexander I built on the educational structure and legislation, but that he also introduced "... fundamental structural changes of great significance."

#### **3.9.1 The Ministry of Public Education**

Alexander I established the Ministry of Education in 1802 and in 1803 the Main Administration of Schools was created. This was followed by the conversion of Catherine's three-tiered system into a four-tiered one. (Eklof 1986:23)

The Ministry's rights extended over all public libraries, museums, public and private printing presses as well as most of the educational institutions. (Johnson 1969:64) The only establishments which did not fall under their jurisdiction were the military and naval schools, the Cadet Corpus, the Holy Synod schools and some of the women's institutions which were placed under the scrutiny of Empress Maria, Alexander's mother.

While Catherine I had established a network of schools which numbered about 300 and had a student body of nearly 20 000 pupils, the actual system was not coordinated. The new Ministry set about changing this. Alexander's plan was to include universities under one system. This project has been dubbed "... the most complete and satisfactory plan for the organisation of public education that the Russian government was to offer until 1917."

(Johnson 1964:65) The Universities were an administrative link which required them to be responsible for supervising the lower levels of educating within each of the six school districts. (Eklof 1986:23)

### **3.9.2 Developments in education**

The following plans were reinforced:

- ♦ the country was divided into six educational districts and many schools were founded: each district was to have a university, each town or main centre was to have one or more four-year gymnasiums, each district some type of two-year secondary or elementary school, and each parish a one-year elementary school
- ♦ five more universities which fell under the auspices of the Ministry of Education were established
- ♦ two outstanding students were sent abroad each year to further their studies
- ♦ graduates of the Universities were expected to remain in the teaching profession for at least six years
- ♦ the "ladder system" was initiated, which allowed for the advancement from lower to secondary schools, and the coordinating of curricula to allow advancement to occur

### **3.9.3 The role of Count Sergei Semenovich Uvarov (1833 - 1849)**

#### **3.9.3.1 Background**

Count Sergei Semenovich Uvarov, an enlightened and progressive statesman was determined to bring about changes in education. He rose to prominence from 1810 to 1821 as head of one of the six educational districts and he held the position of Minister of Education from 1833 to 1849 (under Nicholas I, who ruled from 1825 - 1855). He was a keen student of history

and this provided him with a foresight which was unusual amongst beaurocrats. He served under two czars, viz. Alexander I and Nicholas I, and his foremost belief was that education would provide the means for progress in Russia. Education promised to be a cure for backwardness and would provide a solid foundation for future development. In order for the country to be administrated efficiently, for the military to function effectively, and the economy to progress, schooling and the education of the professional, as well as the working classes, was of paramount importance.

### **3.9.3.2 The statutes of 1804**

The prevailing belief at that time was that the state was to be responsible for the funding, the direction and definition of education. Alexander I decided to make education his first priority in his reform programme and founded "The Ministry of National Enlightenment" in September 1802. The formulations of the appropriate statutes were entrusted to inter alia, Mikhail Speranskii (1771 - 1839), a capable statesman. These included the Provisional Rules of Public Instruction which provided, inter alia, for the following:

- ♦ parochial schools would be open to all, irrespective of class, age or sex (Clause 123)
- ♦ the District Schools would be open to all who have completed the course at parochial schools
- ♦ the Gymnasia would be open to all pupils of all classes who have completed the course at a District School
- ♦ the universities would be open to all who have passed the course at a Gymnasium
- ♦ Clauses 102, 58 and 110 state that children will not be examined in order to pass to the next grade unless they have come from a different school

- ♦ tuition would be free, as would be books
- ♦ State aid would be provided for pupils who were poor but showed ability to study further (Hans 1931:51-52)

The comprehensive school system that was devised was not only the first in Russia, but also in conception, the best in Europe for meeting the needs of a developing nineteenth century nation. (Whittaker 1984:58-59) This system was referred to as the "ladder system". (See paragraph 3.9.2)

The statutes stipulated that there be a link between higher learning and rank in order to correct the low educational level of the state servants. In 1809 Speranskii reinforced that link by constructing the Examination Act. Promotion would henceforth depend on whether the candidate had passed university level tests in the following subjects:

- ♦ Modern Language and Literature
- ♦ Latin
- ♦ Mathematics
- ♦ Physics and Chemistry
- ♦ Natural History
- ♦ History and Geography
- ♦ Drawing
- ♦ Statistics and Russian Statistics
- ♦ Technology
- ♦ Logic, Psychology and Aesthetics

The total number of hours per week would be 132, which compared favourably with the French education system which demanded only 118 hours per week. (Hans 1963:22-24) Russia was attempting to rectify the

educational backlog but the "encyclopaedic curriculum" (Hans 1963:23) did not find favour with all educationists.

### **3.9.3.3 Reforms by Uvarov**

The following reforms were introduced by Uvarov who was the Curator of the St Petersburg Circuit:

- ♦ he strongly opposed the curriculum and reformed the Petersburg Gymnasium in 1811 by eliminating the following subjects:
  - political economy
  - commerce
  - aesthetics
  - philosophy
- ♦ he introduced Russian and religion which were missing from the curriculum.

Uvarov's plan for secondary education was accepted within a week of his gaining the office of superintendent and it was also implemented in the other educational districts by the end of the decade. His proposals satisfied the reform statutes which had come to a head at that stage and the University of St. Petersburg was established in 1819, largely as a result of Uvarov's exertions. The University served to train teachers but within six years the numbers of students had fallen so drastically, (as had the numbers at all universities, except that of Moscow University) that higher education in Russia had been brought to a standstill. (Johnson 1969:125-126)

Uvarov became Minister of Education in 1833 under the reign of Nicholas I (1825 - 1855). He coined the slogan "Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationalism" which reflected his dogmatic beliefs. (Hans 1931:71)

### **3.9.4 The influence of the Napoleonic War (1805 - 1807 and 1812 - 1815)**

During the periods of 1805 -1807 and 1812 - 1815, Russia became involved in the struggle against Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 - 1821). The Russian army managed to penetrate France itself and rode triumphantly into Paris where the victorious Alexander I was hailed as a hero in a pageant more spectacular than any previous czar had experienced.

This contact with a country in which people flourished without an absolute ruler and slavery as the Russians knew it, created discontent among the common soldiers (who were largely serfs). Troyat (1988:92) writes that the young officers in particular, were amazed by the comparison with their own country and decided to establish revolutionary cells within the officer corps. Their aim was not merely to unseat the czar, but to change the system of government. They were later referred to as the Decembrists owing to their unsuccessful coup of December 1825, when they hoped to replace autocracy with constitutional monarchy. It was small wonder that they felt so discontented for the intermittent wars fought against Persia also required soldiers and to this end a system for conscription was instituted which found favour with no-one. Mutinies against conscription were savagely quelled with the full brutality of Russian military law.

### **3.9.5 The "Holy Alliance" (1815)**

The effect on Czar Alexander I was that he became more autocratic and introduced even harsher censorship measures. He also forbade travel and expelled liberals who opposed his views. He was terrified of revolution and formed a "Holy Alliance" with Austria and Prussia in 1815. They pledged to help each other in the case of internal rebellion. The czar, who was an absolute ruler chosen by God could brook no opposition in the form of



competitive ideas which might threaten his power and the stability of the realm.

Strangely enough, Alexander did not institute repressive measures against the Decembrists, once their plot against him became known, stating that he himself had once shared his disaffected officers' liberal aspirations and that he therefore felt that it was not appropriate for him to punish them. (Hingley 1968:112) This task fell to his successor, for Alexander died under mysterious circumstances in November 1825, before the revolt could take place.

### **3.9.6 Dogmatic influences which affected education**

By the time Alexander Semenovich Shishkov (1824 - 1828) became Minister of Public Education in 1824, Alexander I had already decided that too much liberalism was a threat to his power. Shishkov felt that insufficient attention was being given to piety and religious devotion. Hans (1931:66) states that Shishkov was well known for his patriotism and conservatism. The major aims of the schools were to educate pupils to be "... the true sons of the Church and loyal subjects, persons devoted to God and Tsar." (Johnson 1964:89) Shishkov stated in a speech that education, if used properly, could be beneficial, but that "... to instruct all the people, or even a disproportionate number of them, in literacy would do more harm than good. To teach rhetoric to the son of a farmer would make him a bad and useless citizen, if not really a dangerous one. But instruction in the rules and principles of Christian conduct and good morals is needed by everybody." (Johnson 1964:88)

A strongly nationalistic element also prevailed in Shishkov's thinking, for he insisted that Russian be the language in which education should take place, even in schools situated in Poland, Lithuania and the German districts.

Shishkov's ideas only found approval in 1826, during the reign of Nicholas I. (Hans 1931:66)

### **3.10 NICHOLAS I (1825 - 1855)**

#### **3.10.1 Dogmatic influences**

Alexander I died in 1825, the year following Shishkov's appointment and Nicholas I insisted that Shishkov's views on education should be made official. Johnson states: "Most historians agree that Nicholas had very definite ideas regarding the role of education in an autocratic regime, and that he regarded even the remnants of the 1804 system far too liberal." (1969:89)

Nicholas I disliked the "ladder system" which allowed the peasantry to go from one level of education to another, and he disapproved of students from different classes to attend the same school. He also felt that character building should take precedence above the dispensation of knowledge.

The effects of education was already observable in the tremendous outpouring of literature in the nineteenth century. Writers such as Pushkin (1799 - 1837), Lermontov (1814 - 1841), Turgenev (1818 - 1883) Tolstoi (1828 - 1910), Gogol (1809 - 1852) and Dostoyevsky (1821 - 1881) gained prominence during this period. Some of the ideas expressed in their writing were revolutionary, for example:

- ♦ Pushkin's poetry mocked the Church and the State (Mann 1984:118)
- ♦ Lermontov's outspoken verse attacked the stupidity and the hypocrisy of the nobility (Mann 1984:119)
- ♦ Turgenev criticised the institution of serfdom (Horsley 1977:1246)
- ♦ Dostoyevsky's liberal sympathies were expressed in the two unsuccessful liberal periodicals which he launched (Horsley 1977:409)

The writers threatened the hold of the autocratic rulers because they engendered the notion that freedom was not out of reach for the common serf. The Minister of Education, Count Uvarov, who took up the Ministerial post in 1833, remarked that only when literature ceased to be written, would he be able to sleep soundly in his bed. (Maclean 1988:63) Uvarov believed that the basic principles according to which education should operate were "Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism". These principles were implemented in his educational policies. He also stated that if he could retard progress in Russia by 50 years he would be happy to do so. (Johnson 1969:96)

### **3.10.2 Educational reforms**

Nicholas instructed the Committee for the Establishment of Schools to modernise the education system so that uniformity could be achieved. Eklof comments that "... it is one of the minor ironies of history that this paternalistic autocrat, who had little use for the Enlightenment principles... and who worked hard to dismantle the ladder system, did far more than Alexander to promote primary education." (1986:25)

Some of his reforms include:

- ♦ a rescript which forbade universities to admit serfs
- ♦ rural primary education was encouraged
- ♦ the number of Church-sponsored schools increased rapidly between 1837 and 1853

## **3.11 THE DAWN OF ENLIGHTENMENT: ALEXANDER II (1855 - 1881)**

### **3.11.1 Political reforms**

Alexander II, Nicholas's son, was a pragmatist who knew that drastic reforms were essential. Acton states that he was an irresolute ruler, who was seldom

able to make his own decisions: "As Tsar he was inclined to agree with the last person he had spoken to and to authorize wholly incompatible initiatives by different ministers... Moreover, his values differed little from those of his unlamented father: he was committed to upholding autocracy, the nobility, and Russia's military might." (1986:71)

While the principles of autocracy and nationalism were very much part of his belief system, the influence of the Orthodox faith was to be an important part of the education system.

A number of important political and educational reforms occurred during his reign:

- ♦ he abolished serfdom and in 1861 an Imperial Edict was issued which allowed the forty million peasants to purchase land with the help of loans from the state. His motives were not entirely charitable, for in what could be classed as one of the most significant speeches he ever made, he said that the existing condition of owning souls could not remain unchanged. He believed that it was better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it started to abolish itself from below. (Hingley 1968:262) Perhaps it was fear rather than altruism that drove him to this historical decision. Acton (1986:71) states that the primary reason for the abolition of serfdom could be found in two very important facts; Alexander II had to ensure domestic and foreign security
- ♦ in January 1864 a law which was almost as important as the abolition of serfdom, was passed, which provided for the creation of *zemstvos*, which were elective county councils. These represented both the wealthy nobles and the small landowners. Similar organisations were created in the towns six years later and these two types of organisation henceforth represented the cause of constructive reform in Russia. This

could perhaps be construed as the beginning of the rule by the people for these councils held more and more power in the decision making process in later years. The establishment of the *zemstvos* has been seen by some historians as "... most significant step towards local control taken by the ancient regime." (Johnson 1969:138)

### **3.11.2 The emergence of political radicalism**

There was a resurgence of liberalism during this period which coincided with some developments in education. However, the social forces operating within Russia among the peasants and students led to reforms in education which only became fully operational eight years after the death of Alexander II.

Frequent peasant uprisings during this period seemed to confirm the view held by one of Alexander's ministers who proclaimed that a little education would merely serve to fuel discontent among the peasants and to demand more freedom and education. During the 1860s, the effect of the Church was to oppress as far as possible and to suppress new ideas, or even behaviour which was contrary to the norm. The Nihilists, a revolutionary movement which grew largely out of the educated upper classes, opposed the Church and autocracy. During this period any act of nonconformity was deemed sufficient to label a person as a radical. In 1867 the czar was warned of the growing number of men and women who shunned the Orthodox faith as well as veneration for the Monarchy. (Brower 1975:24)

It was felt that the Catholic Church in Poland knew how to hold the loyalty of the young people, but that the Orthodox faith had not succeeded in establishing its influence in the upbringing of the Russian youth. In effect it meant that the old, church-dominated culture had lost its power and by the

1860s the schools had become the chief recruiting area for the radical movement out of which a new ideology eventually emerge.

At this stage too, the revolt was not a proletarian one for the radicals often came from wealthy and privileged classes. Social origin was not a major factor in the student unrest. Freedom to learn meant freedom to dissent and it is no wonder that the reaction against education was so violent and forceful: here was a threat to the autocracy and the Church as never before.

### **3.11.3 Educational reforms**

Alexander's reforms had set Russia along the path of freedom and enlightenment and further developments in education followed:

- ♦ elementary schools were left mostly to public initiative and the *zemstvos*. The Elementary School Code of June 26, 1864 declared that the "... elementary schools have the aim of strengthening the religious and moral understanding of the people, and of disseminating the essentials of useful knowledge." (Johnson 1969:143)
- ♦ school boards were created in each district to supervise instruction, to provide certification of teachers and to distribute textbooks. Control over the schools was given to the Inspector who had the power to discharge unsuitable teachers (Eklof 1986:54)
- ♦ secondary education received even more attention: a Secondary School code was published on 1 December 1864, which stipulated that the purpose of the gymnasia is to provide general education and to prepare the students for entrance to universities or other institutions of higher education
- ♦ there were two types of secondary school: the Higher Elementary school, found in the towns, which consisted of a four years' course and permitted entry to the Teachers' Institutes or the Technical Secondary

- schools. The intelligentsia could choose between the Gymnasias and the Real schools. Qualification in an entrance examination was a prerequisite to the Gymnasias which consisted of eight years and the Real school of seven forms. (Hans 1982:310) The former provided a more classical education in which either Latin and Greek or French and German was studied whereas the Gymnasias were modelled on the German *Realschule* model and in which French, German Drawing, design and Natural History were taught (Johnson 1969:145)
- ♦ by 1870 there were eight universities and about 6000 students. This compared very favourably with the period of 1835 to 1862 in which period there were no universities and only one other type of higher institution founded. Alexander established the universities of Odessa (1864) and of Warsaw (1870) and another which he had planned was opened seven years after his death at Tomsk. He also created five professional higher institutes. A historian, quoted by Johnson, remarked that by 1880 the standard of education corresponded favourably to that of the best American Universities (Johnson 1969:146)
  - ♦ education for girls was not as well established yet for the school codes of 1863-64 made little provision for them. Girls had two options; they could attend a six year course or a three year course, both of which were open to all social classes. In 1870 many of the girls' schools were converted into ten year gymnasias and pro-gymnasias for girls. A supplementary year was added for those who wished to become teachers. Women were still prohibited from attending universities but were permitted to attend other institutes of higher learning, such as the study of medicine and surgery. (Johnson 1969:146) An important underlying reason was that many women (as well as male students) went abroad to study, particularly to the University of Zurich, but the

possibility that Russian women studying abroad may be influenced by revolutionary ideas began to alarm czarist officialdom. They then decided to grant permission for the organisation of higher educational institutions and facilities in Russia itself (McClelland 1979:37)

- ♦ "Sunday schools" became established in the rural areas. Created entirely by local initiative, they provided basic literacy and numerical skills to children and adults alike. Teachers provided their services for free and since there was in any case no money with which to pay them they were also given free lodging in the huts of their pupils. Unfortunately their own standards of education were rudimentary but they did provide the eager peasants with some education (Johnson 1969:136)

Although education was available to all, it was primarily the upper and middle class which utilised the system. In 1880 only 3.3 % of university students were of peasant origin. (Johnson 1969:147) It is important to note that peasants did receive some form of education: Russia, although crippled financially by the Crimean war, could not afford to end the conscription of young men into the army. Although there was no exemption from duty, education provided a way to shorten the period of military service. Dmitry Milyutin was responsible for reorganising the whole system of training and especially of army education which meant that in the ranks the number of literates advanced more rapidly than in any other section of the population. The army was in fact responsible for educating scores of peasants. (Pares 1946:365)

#### **3.11.4 Restrictive measures**

However, the increase in the volume of literature available to the population was of great significance for it dealt with many topics hitherto unknown or



even forbidden to them. Alexander's critics saw this as a threat to the stability of the autocracy and this was one of the reasons that such a strictly regimented system of supervision existed in the education system.

Unfortunately the assassination attempt on Alexander (on 16 April 1866) had exactly the repercussions his advisers could have wished for (Johnson 1969:148). On the day following the attack the Minister of Public Education, A.V. Golovnin (1861 - 1866) , was blamed for laxity in supervision of the schools. It was said that they were promoting ideas of radicalism and he was immediately removed from office. Golovnin's main accuser, Count D.A. Tolstoi (1866 - 1880), held the office of Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod. He was promptly given Golovnin's position as well and the so-called liberal ideas being fostered were immediately halted. He believed that the study of the natural sciences were responsible for fostering the spirit of criticism and science was banished from all schools. Even the study of the classics was now suspect: "The spirit of the schools was distorted. Absolute, unquestioning obedience came to be demanded of the pupils, and though they were encouraged to be 'frank' with their teachers, 'frankness' took the form of spying on fellow pupils." (Johnson 1969:148)

The changes brought about by D.A.Tolstoi served to effectively lower the standard of knowledge and to check the spread of cultural interests and ideas. Pupils were subjected to mental drill rather than education through inquiry. A very strict selection of pupils was instituted and of these very few actually finished the course. Pares writes that: "The sting of the law lay in the fact that, as the gymnasia alone qualified for entry into the university and as poorer scholars lacking the necessary preparation in classics could not enter the gymnasia, the universities would tend to become the preserves of the well-to-do classes." (1946:368)

Elementary education received a financial blow for Tolstoi withdrew all financial support from these schools and made the *zemstvos* responsible for their funding and support. At the same time he wished to pass all control of the elementary schools to the ministry. In ca. 1874 a Code for Elementary Schools placed them under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod, the Ministry of Public Education or the District School Boards. Although his plan for subjecting elementary education completely under bureaucratic control failed, he nonetheless continued an active campaign against the *zemstvos* to the extent that several of them actually considered abandoning the schools completely. (Johnson 1969:152)

It is ironic that one of the major activists who planned Alexander II's assassination, Sophia Perovsky, had been a teacher. It is unfortunate that Czar Alexander, who had brought such enlightenment through his reforms of education and the abolition of serfdom should have been so ruthlessly killed. During his reign the country experienced the first beginnings of Russian constitutionalism. (Pares 1946:387) His assassins could not know that his death signalled an end to liberalism and progress.

### **3.12 SUMMARY**

This period consisted of the most important development and growth of education in Russia since the foundations of education were laid during this era:

- with the ascendancy to the throne by Peter the Great (1689 -1725), Russia became more outward looking, primarily because the influence of the Church under his rule was no longer given the prominence it had enjoyed before. The dogma of the Russian Orthodox Church as propounded by the clergy had less effect on this pragmatic ruler than it had on his predecessors who were influenced by the Orthodox dogma

to further their own aims. Peter the Great was motivated by the belief in the greatness of his country, and his drive for expansionism led him to initiate changes in education. Education was technically oriented since Peter the Great wished to develop the army and navy. It is frequently suggested that he laid the foundations of Communist education which attempts to inspire love for labour and because its education is vocation-directed

- ♦ The following institutions were founded by Peter the Great:
  - the Academy of Sciences
  - a number of schools were founded, the curricula consisting mostly of mathematics, navigation and military engineering (Kochan 1978:113)
  - a number of schools ("cipher schools") providing elementary education were established : in 1722 there were 42 schools, but by 1725 only twenty-eight remained. By 1744 this particular form education had failed and the remaining schools were incorporated with army schools
  - a major reason for the failure of the cipher schools was the success of the parochial schools run by Orthodox Church for the sons of the clergy
  - the only non-vocational school, which was run by Pastor Gluck from Marienburg showed initial success, but the number of pupils dwindled to five within ten years, forcing the institution to be disbanded (Kochan 1978:114)
- ♦ during the reign of Elizabeth (1741 - 1761) there was some interest in education, primarily by the nobility. Tutors were imported from abroad and private schools were established. In 1755 Moscow University was opened but it suffered from a dearth of students, as did the Academy of

Sciences at St. Petersburg. The general backwardness of the Russian people contributed greatly to the failure of the institutions, as did the nobility's insistence on discriminating against the "lower ranks". There was still a great desire to maintain the status quo, by upholding autocracy at the expense of the Russian people

- ♦ Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796) on the other hand, was influenced by the humanists such as Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) and Voltaire (pseudonym for Francois Marie Arouet, 1694 - 1778) whose beliefs had introduced the Enlightenment in the West during the 18th century. The creation of an elementary public school system which was secular and open to all sections of the public - including girls - occurred in 1786
- ♦ Alexander II (1855 - 1881) initiated many reforms, both politically and educationally. He was responsible for freeing Russia from the autocratic rule of his father, Nicholas I. The entire education system was reformed and elementary schools were left largely to the public and the *zemstvos*. These schools were placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of Public Domains and Internal Affairs, or the Holy Synod and their aim was to strengthen the religious and moral understanding of the students, as well as teaching the rudiments of education. Secondary education received special attention. Their aim was to provide a general education as well as preparing the students for university entrance or other specialised institutions. Alexander II was driven largely by the dogmatic beliefs in autocracy, nationalism and to a lesser extent, the Orthodox faith, rather than humanistic or altruistic values

Although the Romanov rulers reverted to the protection of their positions of autocrats who had the duty to preserve the country through nationalistic measures, the Church and its powerful presence served to substantiate their position. The foundations of the Russian education system had been laid

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## **CHAPTER 4**

### **SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO THE 1917 REVOLUTION**

#### **4.1 PROLOGUE**

The two remaining Romanov czars who ruled at the close of the nineteenth century, Alexander III (1881 - 1894) and his heir Czar Nicholas II (1894 - 1917) who took Russia into the twentieth century, were in a way the figureheads of a country that was seething with changes politically, economically and socially. The Church still retained a great measure of influence especially since both Alexander III and Nicholas II believed that it was their divine right to rule. (Hingley 1991:139)

This chapter will deal with the issues and the people who played a major role in the creation of the Soviet Union during the early years of the twentieth century:

- ♦ influential thinkers and leaders such as Karl Heinrich Marx (1818 - 1883), Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870 - 1924) and Georgy Valentinovich Plekhanov (1857 - 1918)
- ♦ the beliefs which helped to change Russia, and ultimately, its educational development
- ♦ Alexander III and Nicholas II and the developments that occurred in education as well as the influences which prevailed upon it during their rule

This chapter is thus very much a background to the October Revolution of 1917 and the dogma which was to influence the development of education in the twentieth century. The period covered in this chapter extends from 1881 to the October Revolution and the death of Czar Nicholas II in 1917.

#### **4.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND**

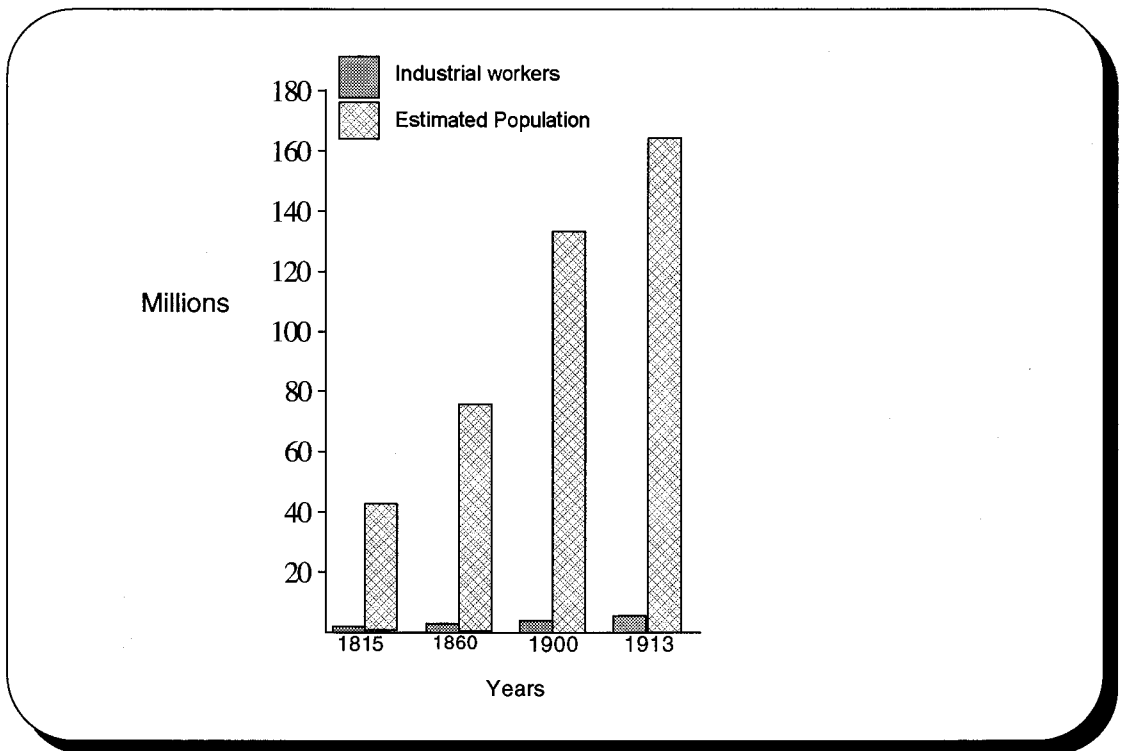
Many of the changes that occurred during the beginning of the twentieth century were rooted in social changes that were fomenting during the late nineteenth century. Millions of people moved to the southern and eastern

regions of Russia during this time, while in the rest of Europe, many were migrating to the New World. Although the Russians are not necessarily nomads, social and economic factors prompted them to escape to illusory freedom, especially in the east. There was also an unprecedented surge in growth of the population. It has been estimated that Russia had a population of 100 million by 1880, and that this figure reached 170 million in 1914. (Treadgold 1972:21) This could also be attributed to the policy of expansionism of the imperial regime, since by the time of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, Russia controlled approximately 20 million square kilometres. (Davies 1979:21)

Russia was at last attempting to catch up to the West in terms of capitalist development and after 1905 there were extensive reforms in peasant agriculture. The Duma too provided representatives of the new business and professional classes who were experienced in government and administration. They were also instrumental in extending the political consciousness of the peasants especially in the area of parliamentary elections. (Davies 1979:33)

While Catherine II in the latter part of the eighteenth century and Alexander II in the 1860s tried to create intermediary self-governing bodies who were directly responsible for local government, others, notably Paul I (1796 - 1801) and Nicholas I (1825 - 1855), curbed these bodies and ruled through monarchical agents which were controlled from the central Government. This seesaw between local autonomy and central control created great frustration among the more radical intelligentsia, who came from the social strata from which the government recruited its central and local officials. They received the same education as the country's civil servants and also subscribed to the ideals of modernising the bureaucracy: progress, equality, material welfare for all people and the curbing of the privileges which the upper classes enjoyed. Reality clashed with their ideals, however, and as Hosking (1990:21) points out, they often became converts to revolutionary ideology.

By the late 1880s a number of industries had sprung up in Russia and the mining industry of the Donets Basin was growing rapidly. (See Figure 8 which is a graphic representation of the number of industrial workers related to the total population from 1815 - 1913.) The Trans-Siberian railway was begun in 1891 and this was to give Russia the opportunity to trade with the East. There was a growing class of factory workers who were mostly underpaid, poorly housed and badly fed. They wanted the right to form unions and to strike for better conditions. (Kennett 1970:14-15)



**Figure 8: Trend in number of industrial workers related to total population in the Russian Empire**

(Adapted from Davies 1978:32)

The burst of industrialisation which had started in the 1890s continued after a brief recession at the turn of the century. Many of the cities expanded rapidly, and although the working class still represented only a fraction of the total population, they were concentrated in the cities, forming a significant political force. The peasantry, which still constituted the majority of the population, was scattered all over the countryside and in remote villages and

were consequently more difficult to mobilise for political purposes. (Davies 1978:32)

### **4.3 POPULISM (ca 1880 - 1908)**

#### **4.3.1 Georgy Plekhanov (1857 - 1918)**

The Populists belief was closely allied to Marxism (more fully explained in paragraph 4.4) in that it believed in the victory that would result after violent revolution, and the use of the masses as an agent to bring about revolution. It also had a strong messianic element which was common to both doctrines. (Kochan & Abraham 1983:234) They believed that if the commune (or *mir*) and its strengths of collectivism could be fortified then Russia could evolve its own form of socialism without undergoing the first stage of communism viz. that of exploitation of the workers and its attendant problems.

Georgy Plekhanov believed that the present as well as the future belonged to capitalism and that Russia suffered not only from the development of capitalism, but also from the lack of that development. (Kochan & Abraham 1973:235-236) Plekhanov also argued that Russian capitalism was a progressive movement: its further expansion would require the overthrow of the autocracy and at the same time lead to a ripening of the industrial proletariat, who would, in turn inaugurate the socialist revolution. Plekhanov's analysis meant that there had been a shift in emphasis from the peasantry to the workers to instigate revolution.

#### **4.3.2 Alexander Herzen (1812 - 1870)**

Various radicals such as Alexander Herzen followed the Populist movement which believed that the peasant commune should form the nucleus of a new society. Others improvised on this belief and several followers of the movement attempted to join the peasants and live the same simple lifestyle wearing homespun clothes and doing manual labour but most of their ideas came to nothing. (Hosking 1990:22) This belief later led to the idea that a revolutionary movement must provide strong leadership and must use

violence to achieve its aims. The government should be overthrown and power seized by means of a *coup d'état*.

A revolutionary group which called itself *Narodnay Volya* (the People's Will), was established in 1879 followed these principles and assassinated Alexander II in 1881. Unfortunately they were unable to put effective pressure on Alexander III to bring about effective change and their actions only led to further repression. They were disbanded in 1884.

#### **4.3.3 The Socialist Revolutionary Party**

In 1901 the Populists resurfaced and formed a new party, the Socialist Revolutionary Party. They no longer disputed the fact that industrial capitalism had come to Russia but they believed it to be very different from the form that Marx had envisaged because it was mostly state owned and because most of the workers still had their roots in the peasantry. They were thus not "workers" in the Marxist sense. The Socialist revolutionaries refused to acknowledge any difference between the workers and the peasants and later set up a terrorist faction which was responsible for a number of assassinations and bombings between 1901 and 1908. (Hosking 1990:28)

#### **4.3.4 The Marxist influence**

Karl Marx's first Russian follower, Georgy Plekhanov (1857-1918), was the leader of a group who had refused to follow the *modus operandi* of the People's Will. Because he was unable to achieve the aims of the Populists through anarchy or by peaceful means, Marxism became an attractive alternative to foment revolution and bring about the fall of the monarchy. (Hosking 1990: 22-23)

Karl Marx (1818 - 1883), however, wrote in 1874 that revolution in Russia would not succeed according to his ideology since the peasants were still owners of private property and constituted an important majority of the population. He felt that the peasantry would hinder the workers' revolution even causing it to fail. The government should introduce "... measures which (would) in essence facilitate the transition from private to collective property in

land so that the peasant himself is converted for economic reasons." (in McLellan 1973:440)

Plekhanov welcomed Marxism because it implied that Russia was not yet ripe for revolution because the social and economic circumstances were not yet ready. He believed that capitalism was not yet a feature of the Russian economic structure and furthermore that the collapse of the peasant communal system was not imminent, both factors being central to Marx's strategy for revolution. (Hosking 1990:23) Ironically Marx thought very little of Plekhanov because the latter was opposed to terrorism and preferred to concentrate on propagandistic campaigns which he directed from Geneva. (McLellan 1973:441)

#### **4.3.5 Populism and education**

Herzen, who was primarily interested in social philosophy and how to bring about change in the *status quo*, is nevertheless regarded as an important role player in initiating the "Golden Age" of pedagogical thought in Russia. (Johnson 1969:231). Herzen was deeply concerned about the infringements of human rights in education under Nicholas I because behind every teacher "... stood the gendarmes of the Tsar." (Johnson 1969:231) He was also outspoken about the fact that nationalism played such a large role in education and that the teaching of subjects such as literature, history and physical science was of an inadequate standard.

#### **4.3.6 Influential pedagogical thinkers**

The following pedagogues of the mid-nineteenth century, were specialists in teaching methods tended to favour the development of the child's personality and creativity. They also believed that education should be utilised to train the child in citizenship and to be "... a fighter for democracy." (Johnson 1969:231):

- ♦ N.Chernyshevskii (1828 - 1889) believed that the masses needed to be educated to fight for the overthrow of the *ancien regime* and that once socialism was entrenched in society, the people needed to be educated

- to improve the conditions under which they lived. Chernyshevskii believed that the role of the teacher was of utmost importance "... for he must not only lead the pupils into self-activity but also stand as model for them to emulate" (Johnson 1969:232)
- ♦ Nikolai A. Dobroliubov (1836 - 1861), who was influenced by the ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746 - 1827), also believed that children should be encouraged in self-activity and that teachers should pay closer attention to the child's natural development. Morality and ethical conduct formed the cornerstone in a child's relations with his teacher and the teacher was to be responsible for "... rearing a generation of free men who will resist autocratic authority." (Johnson 1969:233) believes that Dobroliubov and Chernyshevsky were responsible for "... planting the seeds of social revolution and conceived socialism or communism as the ideal society for mankind" (Counts 1957:19)
  - ♦ Leo Tolstoi (1828 - 1910) believed that children should be encouraged to express their individuality. Education should entice children rather than force them to work. Lessons, he believed should be planned in such a way that they suited the needs and abilities of pupils and most important, that teachers should love not only children, but also their work in order to set an example to their charges. This would encourage pupils to develop a love of learning. Tolstoi's ideas were favourably received in Europe and America, but were practised only to a limited extent in Russia (Shimoniak 1970: 37-38)
  - ♦ N.I. Pirogov (1810 - 1881) was a surgeon who was noticed by the education authorities for the strong stand he took against corporal punishment. (Hans 1931:98) He was made Curator of the Kiev and Odessa education circuits. He believed that local school boards should be given greater autonomy. He had radical ideas such as the abolition of marks and examinations and introduced extracurricular discussion periods which were a novelty as far as Russian education was concerned. (Johnson 1969:234) Elementary schools later reflected Pirogov's ideas in that they were to provide a complete education for those not wishing to further their education, and to prepare the more

gifted students for a classical or a vocational secondary education (Eklof 1986:52)

- ♦ Vissarion Belinsky (1811 - 1848) believed that the environment played a far more influential role than heredity did in the upbringing and education of the child. He firmly believed that "... only socialism could give equal opportunity for all and could educate responsibly for life and society" (Popovych & Lenin-Stankevich 1992:5)
- ♦ K.D. Ushinskii (1824 - 1870) was a trained teacher who could be regarded as the founder of the Russian primary school and of pedagogical training for teachers. Ushinskii was appointed Inspector of the Smolny Institute in 1859, one of the most responsible and challenging posts in Russian education. The Smolny Institute was modelled on the European concept of the "finishing" school for girls. Ushinskii changed the curriculum and reduced the number of years of the course from nine to seven years. He then offered an advanced pedagogical course of two years for students who wished to become teachers. Ushinskii made the course more scientific in orientation, and changed the language emphasis from French to Russian. Ushinskii believed that education should:
  - be mental, physical, social and moral
  - devote itself to the building of character
  - produce a better society
  - inculcate a love for the fatherland
  - foster a love of the pupils native language, that is, Russian
  - create a thirst for knowledge and a love of work (Johnson 1969:240-242; Shimoniak 1970:35-37)
- ♦ teacher education was of great importance to him and he regarded teaching as an art, rather than a science. He gave a great deal of attention to the planning and execution of lessons and felt that the mastering of language should not be underestimated. He believed that "... the language of a nation portrays its spirit, expresses its history and feelings and describes the facts created by the human mind." (Shimoniak 1970:37) Although Ushinskii had plenty of critics, one



admitted that Ushinskii had been the first Russian educator and one of the earliest in history to promote the theory that the teacher requires a deep understanding of empirical psychology and who gave a detailed exposition of the questions of memory, attention and imagination (Johnson 1969:249)

## **4.4 MARXISM**

### **4.4.1 The Communist ideology**

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1820 -1895) collaborated on their theories of communistic ideology. At the root of their beliefs were the dreadful economic conditions under which the workers of the nineteenth century toiled. They were both very much products of the *Zeitgeist* of their time and felt that the world needed to be changed as the status quo could no longer be accepted as valid.

#### **4.4.1.1 The influence of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 - 1831)**

A significant influence was Hegelianism, based on the theories of Hegel, a German philosopher. Hegel had held the chair of Philosophy in Berlin from 1818 to 1831. His German followers split into two opposing factions:

- ♦ the "Right" Hegelians who believed in religion, the Prussian State and the existing order
- ♦ the "Left" Hegelians, who used Hegel's dialectic to show that radical change was an inevitable factor of reality, and who criticised both religion and society. One of these followers was Karl Marx. (Horsley [ed.] 1977:602)

Hegel had based his reasoning on Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 - 1814) and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775 -1854) uniting their beliefs into a holistic theory of immanence, development and contradiction. Engels wrote of Hegel that: "The great merit of Hegel's philosophy, ... was that for the first time the totality of the natural, historical and spiritual aspects of the world were conceived and represented

as a process of constant transformation and development and an effort was made to show the organic character of this process." (in McLellan 1973:28)

Hegel believed that man's existence is based upon the ability to reason and that he builds his reality according to that. In "Phenomenology" Hegel traced the development of mind and spirit, reincorporating history into philosophy and asserting that the human mind is able to attain absolute knowledge. His analysis of the development of human consciousness pointed to the fact that man is able to analyse the world through his own understanding of it and that he is capable of ordering his actions according to his perceptions. The stage of reason which refers to the understanding of reality is followed by the understanding of spirit i.e. religion and art. This in turn leads to the ability to attain absolute knowledge or " ... the level at which man recognised in the world the stages of his own reason". Hegel called these "alienations" because they were created by the human mind. McLellan states that: "This absolute knowledge is at the same time a sort of capitulation of the human spirit, for each successive stage retains elements of the previous ones at the same time as it goes beyond them." (1973:29) Hegel called this movement that suppresses and simultaneously conserves *Aufhebung* and he also stated that there was a tension that exists between any present state of affairs and that which it was in the process of becoming. The law of dialectic materialism developed from the concept of *Aufhebung*.

#### **4.4.1.2 Karl Marx's theory**

Marx based his theory on two major Hegelian propositions:

- ♦ matter exists and nothing else does
- ♦ matter changes constantly according to the "laws" of the dialectic

He took the latter notion to mean that matter can change through the interpenetrating of opposites so that quantitative change becomes qualitative, and that the antithesis of a given thesis is itself denied the ability of forming a new synthesis. These two propositions combine to form the philosophy of dialectic materialism and the aspect which attempts to explain history is referred to as historical materialism. (Treadgold 1972:46) Marx regarded

history as a pilgrimage in search of materialism which results in a class struggle. (Pretorius 1985:133) The class struggle would lead to revolution and the eventual outcome would be the utopian ideal for, according to Marx, this state would arise once the whole world had submitted to communism and the whole of mankind would be united in a shared vision of brotherhood and peace.

Wealth belonged to the few who owned the means of production while the majority of the population lived in poverty. The solution as far as Marx and Engels were concerned would be to wrest the means of production from the private owners and to place it in the hands of the workers. (Pretorius 1985:128) They believed that this would lead to peace and prosperity resolving the innate conflict between the workers and the bourgeoisie. Marx wrote that Communism is the complete and conscious return of man - conserving all the riches of previous development for man himself as a social, i.e. human, being. "Communism as completed naturalism is humanism and as completed humanism is naturalism. It is the genuine resolution of the antagonism between man and nature and between man and man..." (McLellan 1973:118)

#### **4.4.1.3 The concept of *class***

The concept of "class" is central to Marx's theory as is the notion of "class struggle". He believed that "... it is not the consciousness of men which determines their existence, but that it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." (Treadgold 1972:47) The two classes are:

- ♦ the bourgeoisie, who own the means whereby the workers or proletariat, make their living
- ♦ the proletariat, are, however, alienated from that which they create as they do not own their products. They are exploited by the bourgeoisie which creates an unbridgeable gap between the two classes (Pretorius 1985:135)

Clearly Marx's theory was based on economic differences between owners and producers of goods and it did not include the agrarian sector of the

economy. Since Russia was populated by a majority of peasants the theory of communism was more applicable to the industrialised countries of Europe.

This has been a simplified and annotated overview of Marx's theory. The revolution which he believed was inevitable, was created by a few men who used his ideas to foment the revolution in Russia, even though the economic climate in Russia did not necessarily coincide with Marx's theories. Lewis (1965:107) writes that the importance of the Communist Manifesto, written in 1848 and which sets out the general theory of Communism, lies in the value of its analysis of the process of social development, especially its emphasis on class struggle in that development. Beyond that the Manifesto evaluates the role of class forces, the importance of their ideologies, their rise and fall, their opportunities and destiny. These ideas were, however, dependent on the economic and social circumstances which prevailed in 1848. Walsh states that: "This thesis.... is not that wrongs and injustices exist, but that they grow continually worse. It is a thesis of increasing misery which ends in revolution." (1968:300)

After Marx's death in 1883 his theories were "recast and reformulated" by Lenin, Stalin and other Communist leaders according to the development of the labour movement, capitalism and the international situation. (Lewis 1965:107)

#### **4.4.2 Religion and Marxism**

Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach (1804 - 1872) wrote "The essence of Christianity", which was one of the influences that lead Marx to develop his own theories on religion. It claimed that religious beliefs were only projections of "alienated human desires and capacities". (McLellan 1973:67) Treadgold writes "Like Feuerbach, Marx could find no place for God in his philosophy." (1972:42)

He believed that man makes religion and not vice versa and that religion was the symptom of a sick society. Marx stated: "Religion is the sign of the

oppressed creatures, the feeling of a heartless world and the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the people..." (McLellan 1973:89)

Marx believed that the basic alienation of man occurred within the economic sphere. He felt that religious alienation only occurred in the consciousness of man and that atheism was only a stage on the path to communism - "... only communism proposed a doctrine of action that affected what was real." (McLellan 1973:119) This meant that atheism was adopted after the revolution as communism would fill the void left by religion. It is perhaps this belief propounded by Marx, more than his economic theories, which made communism the fear inspiring doctrine as far as the West was concerned for it robbed man of the basic right to believe in a deity rather than a man at the head of the Party.

#### **4.4.3 Karl Marx and education**

Marx wrote very little about education, and there is nothing of sufficient depth to serve as a comprehensive theory of education. (Bowen & Hobson 1987:217) Marx believed that education should be free and that everyone had the right to be educated. He did not formulate a cohesive educational policy, but as Pretorius points out, Marx and Engels "... het hulle tog by geleentheid en veral by implikasie sekere opvattinge oor die onderwys gehuldig." (1985:144) Marx and Engels both saw education as an agent to remake all human beings.

While Marx "... supplied much of the inspiration for the new Soviet school and the persevering commitment to its transformationist role" (Holmes 1991:4), it was only in the early years of Communist rule that educationists such as Anton Makarenko (1888 - 1939) and Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869 -1939) used Marx's theories as a basis for their educational theories, in which the principles of Communism were embedded.

In the pre-Revolutionary era it was essential to educate the adult workers in order to make them aware of their circumstances so that revolution can be fomented. Marx believed that prior to this man should attain a collective

consciousness which would assist in facilitating revolution. However, as Pretorius points out, Marx never stated just how collective consciousness could be reached. (Pretorius 1985:145)

The influence of the *Zeitgeist* of the time had a great influence on Marx's philosophy since child labour was widely used in Marx's day. He nonetheless believed that some form of elementary education was necessary for the workers since an educated labour force would be more productive. In this way the principles of manual labour, physical culture and education were first combined. (Pretorius 1985:46) Again Marx did not specify to what extent labour education was to be implemented or whether it should be technical or vocational. (Holmes 1991:4) Price states that Marx defined education in combination of education for productive labour as follows:

- ♦ mental education
  - ♦ physical education
  - ♦ technological training, which ought to impart the general principles of all processes of production, as well as familiarising the child in the "... practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades."
- (Price 1977:71)

Marx's few references to education were thus used as a base from which many interpretations sprang as regards educational policy and its implementation in Soviet Russia. A detailed account of the effect of communist dogma on education will be given in Chapter 5.

## **4.5 VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN (1870 - 1924)**

### **4.5.1 Biographical background**

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, later known as Lenin, was born in 1870 at Simbirsk, a small town on the Volga river, to relatively wealthy parents who were not given to revolutionary ideas. Lenin became a committed revolutionary after his brother had been executed for his part in the conspiracy to assassinate Alexander II. He attended the University of Kazan where he studied law but was expelled after three months for his participation in revolutionary activities.

He later attended the University of St. Petersburg where he excelled in his final law exams. He met his wife, Nadezda Krupskaya (1869 - 1939), in St. Petersburg. (Kennett 1970:20) She was to play a significant role in the development of education in the post-revolutionary era.

#### **4.5.2 Marx's influence on Lenin**

Marx's writings inspired Lenin because it demonstrated that "... revolution was embedded in the objective evolution of society." (Hosking 1990:25) Lenin had made his own analysis of Russia's socio-economic structure, in which he demonstrated that capitalism was already destroying the economy of the peasant communal system. He disagreed with Plekhanov who believed that the revolution could not be forced or occur until the workers had been sufficiently educated to take their place in a truly democratic society.

#### **4.5.3 Lenin's belief in revolution**

Lenin believed that the revolution could be forced into being by a group of strong willed leaders, instigating professional revolutionaries who would be able to outwit the secret police and foment the revolution. Lenin's insistence that professional revolutionaries be used as opposed to Party members who had had no experience was based upon the experience of a century of revolt in Russia. He believed that they would be capable of withstanding the police and that the need for secrecy was tantamount to their success. Plekhanov reputedly recognised the seeds of dictatorship in Lenin's plans and this led to rivalry between the two men. (Hosking 1990:20-1)

Plekhanov's fears were realised since Lenin was always able to use sound pragmatic arguments to justify his beliefs. Plekhanov stated that: "When the fall of the autocracy led, unavoidably, to the growth of a mass party, Lenin ... would re-create a new elite of party functionaries within the party." (Kochan & Abraham 1983:243) Russia would be ruled once again by a dictator in the name of the people. With hindsight, Dunlop puts it thus: "The Soviet regime has not traditionally chosen to respond to the desires of its populace..." (1985:3)

#### 4.5.4 Lenin and education

Lenin suggested at the 1918 All-Russian Congress of Teachers that a simplified, uniform polytechnical system of education should be implemented.

He believed that:

- ♦ there should be five years of elementary education and four years of secondary schooling
- ♦ school and politics should be integrated
- ♦ religious instruction and corporal punishment should be forbidden
- ♦ tests and homework be prohibited
- ♦ students should be encouraged to train in manual labour (Popovych & Levin-Stankevich 1992:5)

Lenin urged students in 1920 to learn from the past, and not to disregard its value from an educational point of view. He stated that the tuition, training and education of the youth had to be based on the material that had been bequeathed to them by the previous generations. Lenin stated that: "We can build Communism only on the sum of knowledge, organisations and institutions, only on the stock of human forces and means left to us by the old society." (in Johnson 1969:8) However, he also proclaimed that the new school system should be part of the struggle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie. The school system under Lenin's rule, would become a "... vital instrument of state policy." (Long 1985:1)

### 4.6 THE REMAINING ROMANOVS

#### 4.6.1 Alexander III (1881 - 1894)

Why was Alexander III so different from his father? For a start he had not been groomed as successor to the throne for it was only in his twentieth year, when his elder brother Nicholas died, that he became the heir presumptive. (Hingley 1968:288) Pares writes he was quite honest, very laborious, very clear in his views, "... but by mind and education extremely limited in his outlook." (1946:391) His father's shocking death had a great effect upon him. It reinforced his belief that the liberal policies of his father which he had



strongly opposed during the last few months of Alexander II's reign were proof of their failure. Education was clearly a threat to the monarchy and thus to the institution that supported the monarchy viz. the Church.

#### **4.6.2 Constantine Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827 - 1907)**

Alexander III had been tutored by two influential men. One was the historian Sergey Solovyov (no date given) who together with the young Alexander had founded the Imperial Russian Historical Society. The other and stronger influence was Constantine Pobedonostsev, an intelligent and worldly but reactionary statesman. His convictions were to shape education for many years to come since he became the young Nicholas's tutor as well. Pares describes him as a man who had a fine mind, but his theories contained his distrust of human intellect and human nature. In Pobedonostsev's book, *Moscow Conversations*, he expounded the theory that Western democracy was rotten and that the Russian patriarchal system was still the desirable social system. Under his tutelage Alexander became a rigid nationalist and conservative. (Hingley 1968: 288)

Pobedonostsev was a professor of civil law at the University of Moscow, apart from tutoring his royal charges. He was a Slavophil (a group of Russians who wished to maintain old Russian traditions and adherence to the Russian Orthodox faith) and continued to belong to the group even while he held his post. The Slavophiles believed that Russia was different from the West because it was guided by and founded on Eastern Orthodoxy. This made it the land of "faith and divinely revealed truth." They held a romanticised idea of the past glory of Russia and believed that it had a mission to carry the "true faith" to the West. (Walsh 1968:197)

Central to their beliefs was the idea that orthodoxy was a "... benevolent, patriarchal autocracy". Walsh states that : "... the Slavophiles came to be considered the reactionary defenders of the classic formula of Nicholas' reign - 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationalism' ." (1968:198)

Pobedonostsev was made Procurator of the Holy Synod (a representative body of the Orthodox Church which was concerned with religious and educational matters) in 1880 and held this post until a year before his death. Because of the power he held, afforded to him by his position, he was intensely disliked by Russian liberals. He was nonetheless an able and highly intelligent scholar and philosopher. He believed that the power of the state rested upon faith and regarded parliamentarianism as well as a free press with great distrust and distaste. A man of strong views and strong beliefs, his influence over Czar Alexander III (1881 - 1894) and Nicholas II (1894 - 1917) could be seen in their own reactions to certain issues such as the curtailment of academic freedom and the persecution of certain religious minorities. (Walsh 1968:292)

Hingley (1991:130) makes much the same observations about Pobedonostsev and points out that education and the press received special attention during Alexander's reign. As a result of Pobedonostsev's beliefs they were severely repressed: education for the lower classes was curtailed and the universities lost much of their autonomy. A new minister of education was appointed, a former liberal turned reactionary named Count T.D. Delianov (1882 - 1897). It seems as if Delianov was very much under the influence of Pobedonostsev since he actually proposed to Czar Alexander that the latter be appointed minister.

Pobedonostsev had a much dimmer view than Tolstoi of Western intellectual doctrines and of the role of education in general. He was scornful of those *doctrinaires of science* who treated abstract propositions as indisputable axioms, and he argued that too much education was liable to lead children "... to the temptation of vanity and conceit...", thereby endangering the social stability of the state. (McClelland 1979:14)

It could thus be said that Pobedonostsev's dogmatic beliefs were the most important influence during the reign of Alexander III and that he was the instigator of many of the reforms which were made to the detriment of

education and its development (as can be seen by his attempts to repress education for the lower classes).

### **4.6.3 Educational reforms and reactionalist developments**

#### **4.6.3.1 Educational reforms**

The effect of the beliefs of Alexander III and his Minister of Education, Pobedonostsev, regarding education did not weaken the academic content of the gymnasias and universities but they did retain their strictly Eurocentric orientations and standards. They limited the number of students who could be admitted to universities and instituted discriminatory measures in the admissions process that favoured upper-class Orthodox Great Russians over national-religious minorities and middle- or lower-class applicants. Schools which were less academically oriented catered for pupils from poorer or foreign origin so that they would be able to assume their designated place in society. (McClelland 1979:15)

The first major change in the system was to place a separate network of primary schools under the auspices of the Holy Synod but the *zemstvos* refused to provide financial support if complete control was to be given to the Holy Synod. As a result of this *impasse* the *zemstvo* schools remained secular and consequently grew in numbers and influence. (Johnson 1969:155)

Only one university was founded during this period for there was a far greater emphasis on technical and vocational education and several of these institutes were developed. A statute passed in 1888 provided for the establishment of three types of schools:

- ♦ middle technical schools which were to produce technicians,
- ♦ lower technical schools which would provide foremen
- ♦ crafts and industry schools to produce skilled workmen

In the implementation of this project the Minister of Education, Count Delianov, minimised the provision of general education for he hoped to attract

the poorer classes away from the more academically oriented schools such as the gymnasia and *Realschulen*.

Another unpopular measure was the so-called "cooks' circular" which was aimed at limiting the number of children of "...coachmen, menials, cooks, washerwomen, small shopkeepers, and the like.". (McClelland 1979:16; Hans 1931:148)) A quota for the admission of Jewish children was also imposed. It was set at ten percent for the academic schools and universities and remained in force until 1917 which meant that many of these children were deprived of a decent education.

#### **4.6.3.2 Reaction to developments**

Student troubles in the form of demonstrations against the restrictive measures adopted concerning education were frequent and on one occasion the Cossacks were called out to control the students of St. Petersburg. They had been forbidden to keep the anniversary of the university and the students of Moscow demonstrated in sympathy with them. Some students were imprisoned and many were expelled. (Pares 1946: 394)

Alexander III was primarily a nationalist and his laws served to entrench his beliefs. Hingley writes: "Although Jews, Germans, revolutionaries, sectarians and other groups had good cause to detest Alexander III, he often received credit for an achievement which makes him unique among the Tsars - that of preserving peace throughout his reign, apart from some minor skirmishing in central Asia... However, as the disasters of the following reign were to show, Alexander III's peace was but the calm before a sequence of appalling catastrophes." (Hingley 1968: 292)

Eklof (1986:3) writes that all great revolutions (the English and French in the late 18th century, and the Russian revolution in 1917) occurred when each country was approaching a threshold of 50% literacy. He points out that learning to read is in itself a "... revolutionary process, that literacy alters the mind at the same time that it changes the community and breaks down barriers between autarkic village and society at large." The educational

developments which had occurred during the reigns of Alexander II and III had given rise to a more educated society, one which was evolving towards revolution.

#### **4.7 NICHOLAS II (1894 - 1917)**

Whereas Alexander III had been an autocratic dictator who had managed to secure peace at the expense of his people and their education, Nicholas II was perceived by many historians as a weakling who tried to please everybody. He believed that he was chosen by God to rule his people as did his predecessors and he was also very religious. He had a fatalistic outlook on life which was characterised by vacillations and indecision. Hingley writes: "... Nicholas II, seemed ill fitted for absolute command over 120 000 000 subjects... A pupil of Pobedonostsev, like his father before him, he believed that it was God's will for him to preserve the autocracy in tact - an assumption in which he was to prove fatally mistaken." (1972:139)

During the reign of Alexander III and the influence of Pobedonostsev, Russia maintained a belief in its isolation from foreign intervention and the corruption of the West and its policies. Orthodoxy and rigid nationalism were reinforced and matters did not change much under Nicholas's rule.

Nicholas married Princess Alice of Hessen-Darmstadt (no date given), a deeply religious young girl who had been raised by her grandmother, Queen Victoria in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. She converted to orthodoxy and the principles of autocracy with great fervour. She was believed to have had great influence over her timid husband and through her dabbling in the occult with Rasputin she led the way for the downward slide of the autocracy. (Hingley 1972:140)

##### **4.7.1 Developments in education**

The following important developments occurred during this period from 1894 to 1917:

- ♦ Nicholas II's beliefs held some sway over the expansion of education, especially elementary education, which was accompanied by a

concerted campaign of Russification, nationalism and religion: "The great increase in secondary school enrolment paralleled as deep a descent into mysticism and superstition as Russian education had known since the time of Ivan IV. State allotments for schools trebled in per cent of total expenditure, but education still ranked next to last in the budget. Institutions of higher learning grew both in number and in enrolment, but their moral and intellectual standards fell far below those maintained in past decades." (Johnson 1969:173) This suggests that although the budget for education had grown, the total amount it received was still far below what other government departments were allotted. Furthermore, the quality of education was inferior compared to the education during the reign of Alexander III

- ♦ the fact that education was still being regarded as the "orphan of the state" could be attributed to the idea that education was still not a prime concern of the ruling class or the Church and because this period is characterised by eleven successive Ministers of Education. (Hans 1931:243) There was no continuity in the implementation of their ideas and the influence of the Church under Nicholas enjoyed great prominence, which suggests that its influence greatly affected the quality of education. Since the governmental conservatives were willing to endorse the rapid expansion of primary schools, they refused to countenance a Duma (legislative assembly) plan to overhaul and decentralise the administrative structure of the primary system
- ♦ in 1911 the conservative State Council rejected a Duma bill that would have absorbed all church schools into a secular network. They would have transferred them from the ministry to the *zemstvos* and municipal dumas prime responsibility would have been the supervising of the schools. It would also have permitted the use of local languages in non-Russian areas. The separate primary network of the Holy Synod, although it stopped growing after 1905, continued to exist until 1917 (McClelland 1979:41)
- ♦ General V.G. Glazov who became Minister of Public Education in 1904 wanted to institute and implement far-reaching changes to the education

system. After calling a meeting of the Curators in August 1904 he informed them that the schools would in future emphasise nationalism and religion above all other subjects. This resulted in the most reactionary curriculum ever devised in Russia. Fortunately the revolution of 1905 put a stop to these plans and following the resignation of Glazov and Pobedonostsev the czar issued a manifesto of civil rights and established the Duma which was given the power of veto

- ♦ Ivan Ivanovitch Tolstoi (1905 - 1906), an educated academic and scholar, became the next Minister. He too wanted to bring about far-reaching changes but of a more liberal nature. He wanted restore autonomy to the universities, to abolish restrictions in enrolments regarding race, class and religion. Czar Nicholas, however, dismissed Tolstoi because of his liberal leanings after a year in office and none of these measures were implemented. A far more conservative Minister succeeded Tolstoi, namely Peter Mikhailovitch Kaufmann. He served two years before being removed from office. He nevertheless managed to accomplish some changes to the system. He tried to implement the "ladder" system (introduced during the reign of Alexander I in 1804) in the secondary schools and to make elementary education compulsory for all children. Three new institutions were opened and higher courses for women were established at every university in Russia (Johnson 1969:189)

The following were a direct result of the educational policies during Nicholas II's reign:

- ♦ Russia had nine universities containing approximately seventeen thousand students by 1900. This compares favourably with the state of affairs in 1800, when Moscow University was the only institution of tertiary education with a student body totalling a mere 450 students in 1809, after another two institutions had been established
- ♦ more important is the tradition of political protest which these universities had engendered which was to play an important role in

bringing about the Revolution in 1917. The proportion of illiterates was still very high, being about 74% of the population in 1897

#### **4.7.2 Political developments**

Whereas Russia had seemed quite docile on the political front at the beginning of Nicholas II's reign, the facade of loyalty was quite illusory since many of the better educated citizens were beginning to regard the monarchy as an anachronism, probably as a result of the influence of radical philosophies such as Marxism.

The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, the forerunner of the *Bolsheviks* and *Mensheviks*, was formed in 1898. They were rivalled by the Marxist organisation, the Socialist Revolutionaries, who posed a greater threat to the crown because it enjoyed the support of the peasants, who constituted about three-quarters of the population. Although the peasants still appeared loyal to the czar their ultimate loyalty was uncertain. The revival of political assassination which swept like a wave over Russia actually brought about more change than the influence of the peasantry did during those years. (Hingley 1968:295)

#### **4.7.3 Dogmatic influences on education**

##### **4.7.3.1 Background to dogmatic influences**

The mystical pietism found in the writings of several 19th century writers and thinkers such as Jacob Boehme (1575 - 1624) and Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688 - 1772) was encouraged by Alexander I, whose reign started in 1801. The importance of individual pietism meant that the teaching authority of the Orthodox Church was lessened since it "... fostered an immediate experience of God without the mediation of a structured Church or even of a formulated theology." (Mahoney 1976:315) From 1836 onwards there was a movement to eradicate all Protestant teachings from Russian theology. The return to the more Orthodox sources introduced the idea of Slavophilism whose main idea saw Russia's greatness based upon a return to the "Messianic Muscovite dream of Slav domination as first envisioned by Ivan IV." (Mahoney



1976:316) Other religious influences, such as Protestantism, was seen as a threat to the Orthodox Church and this had an influence on the course of development as far as education was concerned.

Alexander III's liberal reforms could be seen as an outflow of the *Zeitgeist* since a reactionary movement to Russian dogmatic theology developed which insisted that redemption was not to be conceived according to human limitations but that the redemption flowing from the Cross was to be seen in terms of the infinite love of God for men. (Mahoney 1976:70)

#### **4.7.3.2 Dogmatic influences during the reign of Nicholas II**

During the reign of Nicholas II the Church had reverted to a more traditionalist approach mostly as a result of the influence that Pobedonostsev held in the Church. On a personal level Czar Nicholas's religiosity seemed dominated by a blind faith, a factor which also seemed to be prevalent in his choice of advisors in whom he had great trust. His dogmatic beliefs in autocracy and nationalism meant that he was unable to realise the sound educational principles advocated by the more forward-looking and liberal ministers of education.

Treadgold, on writing about the flourishing arts and culture during this period, concludes that "Russia was more nearly at one with Europe than she had been at any time since the days of the Kievan state." (Treadgold 1972: 93)

### **4.8 SUMMARY**

This chapter dealt with the most significant political and social issues which forms a background to the Revolution of 1917. The role players in this period of changing thought were:

- ♦ Marx (1818 - 1883), and his writings as set out in the Communist Manifesto and his theories on class and capitalism
- ♦ Lenin (1870 - 1924), who felt that the revolution could be created even though the conditions and the people were not yet ready for the changes

- ♦ Plekhanov ( 1857 - 1918), an influential thinker who played a significant role in the creation of the new era
- ♦ Alexander III (1881 - 1894) who attempted to set back the clock to the days of Nicholas I (1825 - 1855) by seeking to resurrect ancient autocratic privileges and to re-establish orthodoxy, autocracy and patriotism as the Russian Empire's ideology (Hingley 1991:134)

Although many changes had occurred during this period Russia was still culturally, economically and socially backward when compared to the leading western European nations. Hingley (1991:134) states that on one front Russia was abreast of the west, namely in the arts and literature departments, since the achievements of Russian writers rivalled those of any country.

The following points were of importance as far as education was concerned:

- ♦ this period had witnessed many social and economic changes which had opened the door to many radical ideas and influences. While Alexander III reintroduced autocracy and nationalism as the driving force for the monarchy other ideological beliefs, notably that of Marx and Lenin, were gaining popularity among the revolutionaries who were to change the course of Russia's history
- ♦ Czar Nicholas II made it clear at the beginning of his reign that constitutional changes would be rejected by him. He stated : "Let every one know that I ... shall safeguard the principles of autocracy as firmly and as unwaveringly as did my ... father." (Treadgold 1972:69)
- ♦ although this absolutism was not new and while radical elements had existed even during the reign of Alexander III the time was ripe for revolution. For the first time there was mass dissatisfaction with the monarchy and its regime: "The new urban working class together with school and university student bodies widely permeated with revolutionary ideas provided a tinder which the radical parties were rapidly learning to set aflame." (Treadgold 1972:69)

- ♦ another decisive factor in the abolition of the monarchy was the ineptitude of the government to deal with the Russo-Japanese war as well as World War I
- ♦ the most important civil reform included the creation of a legislative assembly (the Duma)

Educational changes included:

- ♦ the restoration of autonomy to the universities
- ♦ education was starting to open up for the masses as the interest in elementary education grew. Although Minister I. Delianov attempted to exclude the children of ordinary lower class children (the "cooks and washerwomen" law mentioned earlier) he was unable to stop the influx of pupils to schools
- ♦ in 1908 the third Duma passed a bill which was to provide free and compulsory education for all children aged between eight to eleven. This plan required the expansion of available facilities as well as teacher training. Unfortunately the sweeping changes planned by Count P.N. Ignatiev were never realised as the revolution hindered their implementation

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## **CHAPTER 5**

### **EDUCATION DURING THE COMMUNIST ERA**

#### **5.1 PROLOGUE**

The rapid development of industry, technology and science which occurred during this period is unparalleled anywhere else in the world and in terms of skills, knowledge and understandings, the people of Russia had managed to move into the industrial age. This growth would have been impossible if it had not been for the rapid development and expansion of Soviet education. (Counts 1957:3) "From the moment the Bolsheviks consolidated their rule over the Russian empire they have employed the full force of education not to maintain the status quo, but to change the course of history and the nature of man." (Counts 1957: 5) These may be strong words of praise but here it is necessary to examine what it was the Bolsheviks believed in, what, in effect was their dogma, and what its effect was on education.

This chapter deals mostly with the development, implementation and expansion of education under communist rule.

#### **5.2 DOGMA OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

Marx was not primarily interested in education and although Marxist inspired education was put into practice, in reality the remains of pre-Revolutionary education remained until the 1930s. (Zajda 1980:9)

Marx believed that education under the capitalist system favoured the protection of the ruling classes and that to educate the masses would lead to sedition. Yet a minimum of education was necessary to make labour efficient and for this reason, so Marx believed, it was important to instil docility in the workers so that they would respect their masters. (Counts 1957:12)

Peter the Great (1672 - 1725) is believed to have laid the foundation of Soviet education since he firmly believed in vocational education. Most of his institutions were geared towards promoting scientific, military and industrial

development. Marx too believed in strengthening the country by providing an education that would be directed towards the development of skills suitable for the workplace and the instilling of love of labour and love of mankind.

Russia at that stage was still lagging far behind the rest of the world, economically, culturally and politically. Nevertheless they believed that they could build a new order, create a new society, advance technologically, all within the time span of a generation. They believed it could be done through education, since it is through this medium that the population can be moulded to suit the needs of the government. It would be a task of gigantic and heroic proportions, but it was done. When he seized power, Lenin decided to proclaim a "dictatorship of the proletariat," an expression which was found in the writings of Marx. But Lenin gave the words a special Bolshevik meaning. (Counts 1957: 35) This meant that the Party would have the dictatorship in the name of the industrial workers and peasants. There was no such a thing as democracy. The proletariat would be lead just as they had been lead before under the Czars, their decisions made for them and the road to the future mapped out for them by a small party of people who had the vision and who had "... mastered the transition from capitalism to socialism... and they alone could be trusted to pilot the revolutionary struggle..." (Counts 1957:36)

Thus at the very heart of Communism is the Party, which is basically the guiding and directing force of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leader and teacher of the Soviet people. But the Party is unlike the political parties of the West, for both in organisation and function it is more like a political army which has been designed to rule the Soviet Union. It secured a dominant position in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union through its right to nominate candidates for offices, and through its members and its youth organisations. Its connection with the Third International, usually referred to as the Comintern which was founded in Moscow in 1933 and dissolved in 1943, (Horsley [ed.] 1977:664) ensured that it could exercise extensive influence in foreign policies. (Kirchner 1991:287) Its aim was to build a Communist order, and to direct the course of a world-wide movement which aspired to overthrow the capitalist system everywhere. (Counts 1957:37)



### 5.3. EDUCATION AS TOOL OF COMMUNIST DOGMA

Education would be the tool through which the communist ideals could be realised. Van der Merwe writes: "Die Sowjet Unie het 'n onderwysstelsel ontwerp wat onderhorig was aan sy eie outokratiese gesag. Om ook 'n eenvormigheid deur te voer, sou die Kommunistiese Party die rigting aanwys. Alle denke, handboeke, publieke media en opvoedingsbeginsels sou die Kommunistiese ideologie voed." (1982:82)

In order to make the state a great industrial and military power, it was essential to control all the thoughts, the institutions and all forms of mass media. This would help to control the behaviour of the people. Upon seizing power in 1917, the Bolsheviks felt that the elitist religious and academic oriented schools system under the czars had to be abolished as soon as possible. In its place the following would be instituted:

- ♦ free and compulsory general and technical education
- ♦ the elimination of textbooks, homework, grades, examinations, corporal punishment and teacher- oriented lessons
- ♦ the moral upbringing of children would be based on communist rather than religious ethics
- ♦ lectures would be replaced with more active and progressive methods of instruction (Long 1985:2)

The concept of educating people for the benefit of the state is not a new one since it had first been instituted by Peter the Great but the Bolsheviks, as followers of Marxist ideology, added the belief of "love of work" as the ultimate human value. Landon Pearson writes: "Labour education... had to be an end in itself, not just a means to something else. According to Lenin and his colleagues, the personal worth of citizens in the new Soviet state would be determined by their participation in 'social production' and by the contribution their labour made to the well-being of Soviet society. If work was to be considered the central activity of human life, then it would also have to become the central focus of education." (1990:371)

Prozorow (in Redl 1964:7) writes that the creation of the "new man" would be brought about through the communistic re-education of society, which includes the harmonious combination of spiritual richness, morality and physical fitness. Emphasis is also placed on the fact that innate ability is merely a small percentage of success, and that persistent hard work and strict self-imposed discipline and effort are required for success in life. This means that anybody, regardless of ability, should be able to achieve the realisation of his potential. Prozorow points out that the communists never believed that men are created equal in the sense that all are equally endowed with inherent abilities, but that for the first time "... a social system was created which guaranteed to each child, regardless of his nationality, sex and parental background, conditions favourable to the development of a well-rounded personality and the full exercise of capabilities." (in Redl 1964:7)

Humanism played a role in the idea of moral development, but while moral development is seen as allowing the individual to discover his own particular moral values and principles. It differs from communist teaching because "Moral education to a humanist does not imply indoctrinating the student with a predetermined code... It does imply respect for his freedom, dignity, and natural tendencies toward socialization..." (Kolesnik 1975:71) Educational methods in Russia were developed which would satisfy the individual needs of their students "... while at the same time helping them to become productive and committed workers required by the State." (Pearson 1990:373)

Thus while the educational needs of the child were being catered for, a distorted view of humanism was being implemented for the benefit of the State.

#### **5.4 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF IDEALS (ca. 1917-1930)**

The urgent matter of free compulsory education was an unaffordable priority. It required great faith in their principles to face the challenges that lay ahead and Holmes points out that: "The ideology that ignited this grand undertaking would long sustain it in the face of difficult material conditions and opposition

from parents and teachers." (1991:3) The strength of their convictions, their faith in the communist dogma, was such that they believed all obstacles could be overcome. The education system needed to be changed completely. This change was to be brought about by *Narkompros*.

#### **5.4.1 The establishment of *Narkompros***

The Commissariat of Enlightenment (or *Narkompros*) was put in charge of reshaping the education system. They issued a number of directives which were not really practicable. It wanted to replace all vocational schools, gymnasiums, *Realschulen*, lower and higher elementary schools and commercial schools with a single co-educational system. In their place would be a new school consisting of an elementary division of five years and a secondary level of four years. A number of enticing incentives would be offered to the pupils such as free books and pencils, hot breakfasts and shoes. (Holmes 1991: 8)

N.K. Krupskaya (1869 - 1939), who was the assistant of the first commissar, held the ideal to develop a school system which would transform a young child into a worker who would become a highly motivated communist. However this ideal state would not exist without a strong economy that could produce the necessary goods and services to sustain it.

Pearson points out that the attempts at finding the right mix of work oriented experience, academic training, and social upbringing were impossible for those early educational planners because material conditions in the young state were too hard. And finding this "... right mix has defeated authorities ever since, in spite of minor reforms and a few major ones." (1990:372) Zajda (1980:9) also comments that this ideal took a long time before it was properly and fully implemented since the remains of pre-Revolutionary education remained until the 1930s.

#### **5.4.2 Anatoly Lunacharsky (1887 - 1933)**

On 9 November 1917 Anatoly Lunacharsky was appointed as the first People's Commissar of Education. All educational institutions were nationalised and a rather controversial decree was issued on 20 January 1918 that the Church and the state would henceforth be separated. This meant that the schools would all fall under the administration of the State and the Church lost all its influence on education and a decree on 30 May 1918 ordered the unification of all types of educational and teaching establishments under a single ministry. Later that year Lenin suggested that a uniform school system be established throughout the Republic consisting of two levels: five years for the primary school and a four-year secondary school system. The new political and pedagogical principles of Soviet dogma would be reflected, that is the unity between the school and politics and the teaching of religion would be forbidden. (Zajda 1980:10)

Religious dogma would be replaced by communist dogma. The belief in God as an all-powerful being who ruled from above was replaced by the belief in the omnipotence of the leader of the Party who ruled from the Kremlin. Since the czars believed that they were God's representatives on earth, and that they were supreme rulers over their people, the people's belief in God and their Orthodox dogma had to change to a belief in the Communist Party. There was a shift of focus as far as their beliefs were concerned and the new "rules" of faith would be spelled out very clearly by the rulers of the Party.

Their new ideology placed the responsibility of the well-being of the people in their own hands for they could no longer blame the czar or the State or the Church for their misfortunes. This utopian vision that the leaders had did not necessarily coincide with the way the people saw themselves or what they believed themselves to be capable of. For a society which had for so long been dependent on the Church and their "Little Fathers" (the czars) to suddenly be thrust out of the nurturing bosom of the traditional way they had been ruled to have to take responsibility for themselves must at once have been exhilarating and terrifying. Pupils had to acquire skills that had hitherto

not been encouraged: self-respect, independence, initiative and moral fibre. These were to be considered more important than learning itself. It is interesting that Pearson specifically remarks in her studies of the Russian education system that the children seemed to lack independence and initiative because a system which is so rigidly controlled that every school throughout the entire country follows the same syllabus and time-table year in and year out can hardly be seen to be encouraging "independence" or "initiative". (1990:93)

### **5.4.3 Labour education and problems caused by implementation**

#### **5.4.3.1 Labour education**

Other prominent educationists who aided Lunacharsky were Stanislav Shatsky (1878 - 1934) and Pavel Blonsky (1884 - 1941), both of whom had been influenced by the work of Leo Tolstoy (1828 - 1910):

- ♦ Shatsky had been educated in a classical gymnasium and believed that he knew from personal experience how children should not be taught. He was not a Bolshevik and distrusted them and felt that education and politics should not mix. The concept of labour education had a different meaning for him as he believed that it meant the development of the human personality rather than developing a love of labour ultimately to be exploited by the state
- ♦ Blonsky, on the other hand was a dedicated Marxist who was determined to create a radically different type of school which would embody the Marxist ideals. A paper written in 1919, entitled "The Labour School" established the framework for the model of the polytechnic labour school. Blonsky wrote that the aim of education is to introduce the child to "contemporary industrial culture" and that the method is to work from the practical to the theoretical. If a pupil were to spend a period of time in a factory it would not only familiarise him with the tools but it would lead to the understanding of how they work which would ultimately lead on to physics. Polytechnic education would thus give the students the opportunity to gain first hand experience about the "... social relations that characterise the world of work and thus come to

understand, from their own experience, the advantages of socialism over capitalism." (Pearson 1990: 378) In order for this new type of education to be implemented, new methods of teaching would have to be devised. Learning had to become a "joyful" experience: "Polytechnical education came to mean the physical, psychological, intellectual, aesthetic, and social development of children - and not preparation for a specific trade" (Holmes 1990:9)

No technical education would be permitted before the age of fourteen. Education would be far more practically oriented in order to acquaint the student with reality and from there it would graduate to the theoretical. However in practice the subjects lost much of their significance in the rush to centre instruction around the more relevant areas of labour, nature, and society. (Holmes 1990:9)

*Narkompros* displayed great faith in human nature (and especially in children) when believed that self motivation and self-discipline could replace other more compulsory methods such as examinations and various forms of punishment. Pupils were given the right to send representatives to the schools' administrative bodies and to select their own leaders for various tasks and organisations such as choirs and games. It was believed that they were capable of handling the authority and responsibility. In short, they were regarded as adults.

#### **5.4.3.2 Problems with the implementation of labour education**

The ideals held by the various educators and *Narkompros* were far removed from the reality of what was actually happening in the schools:

- ♦ an investigation by *Narkompros* of a State children's home revealed that the old methods and curriculum were still being applied. Further, the plans for the nine year school were still a fantasy, since it was found that of all children eligible for the elementary grades only 25% of the boys and 49 % of the girls were attending school in Novgorod in 1920 (Holmes 1990:18)

- ♦ the peasants still regarded education with scepticism. They distrusted the teachers and saw them as tools of the Bolsheviks. They did not approve or understand the progressive methods employed by the teachers
- ♦ students too denounced the new methods of teaching when they found that their education did not meet the requirements for university entrance. Clearly, Narkompros was failing in its objective as far as parents, teachers and pupils were concerned, especially in the rural areas (Holmes 1990:18)

Perhaps scholars and the educationists failed to take into account the fact that children (especially boys) were needed in the rural areas as they formed an indispensable part of the labour force during those days. It would thus be understandable that parents would be reluctant to send their offspring to be educated.

## **5.5 EDUCATION UNDER THE RULE OF JOSEPH STALIN (1941 - 1953)**

### **5.5.1 Joseph Stalin (1879 - 1953)**

Stalin is the adopted name of Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, the son of a Georgian shoemaker. He was expelled from the seminary he attended (in training for the priesthood) for propagating Marxist doctrines. He was appointed as general secretary of the Communist Party in 1922 and became chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, a position that equals that of a Prime Minister in 1941. (Horsley [ed.] 1977:1177)

Stalin's rule was characterised by a harshness and despotism which rivals that of Ivan the Terrible. He brooked no opposition and his enemies were either killed or exiled to Siberia. Stalin's purges also assured that the numbers of school-going children dwindled. Pearson (1990: 381) writes of a woman that she met in Russia whose father was an old Bolshevik, which meant that she was able to attend a special school in Leningrad. When she entered the school in 1932, there were six or seven classes in each grade. When she left in 1941, just before the German invasion of Soviet territory,

there was only one class left of her original classmates. The other children she had known had vanished one by one as their parents were caught up in Stalin's purges.

His educational policies were largely influenced by Anton Makarenko, discussed in paragraph 5.5.2.

### **5.5.2 The influence of Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko (1888 - 1939)**

Makarenko (1888 -1939) was an extremely talented teacher who was put in charge of a labour colony for juvenile delinquents in 1920. Many of these children were left homeless and orphaned after the revolution and civil war which followed. Makarenko realised that these children were a product of their circumstances rather than criminal. He was inspired by the ideology of the time and developed a way of educating these children through the self-imposed discipline of a labour collective. He set military standards of order and neatness and enforced little authority from above. Yet his discipline was tempered by understanding and compassion which is revealed in his paper "Problems inherent in Soviet school education." (in Redl 1964:145-160) Many of his ideas are based on the belief that the individual is capable of self respect and responsibility, if he were given the opportunity to display these characteristics and be treated fairly.

Although he favoured militarization to a certain degree, he did not approve of using it for punishment and used certain aspects of it, such as banners, drills, uniforms and guard duty for making school more enticing to his pupils, since he felt that it added a certain lustre to their education and because many of these delinquents actually glorified the military. (Redl 1964:50)

While these methods were very successful, they were misunderstood by Stalin's lieutenants who decided to adopt and implement them in the 1930s. His theories were largely distorted to suit the needs of the communist party which felt that the child centred humanistic approach to education was insufficient for creating an unquestioning and obedient workforce. By 1932 virtually all children between the ages of 8 and 11 were receiving a full-time



education which was pedantic and relied heavily on a militaristic type of discipline. Gone were the heady days of education for enjoyment and discovery. The state simply could not afford it.

### **5.5.3 Educational developments**

In 1931 Stalin issued a decree which stated that compulsory universal elementary education should be introduced and implemented as quickly as possible. The party also decreed that during 1930 - 1931 all children aged between eight and ten years old and those who had not yet had the opportunity to attend school should be given the chance to attend. Soon after that a law was passed making it compulsory for all children in this age group to receive educational instruction.

The prime thrust of was to be the promotion of the concept of socialism, especially that of "socially useful labour." (Shimoniak 1970:31) Since the Soviet educationists did not have the theoretical know-how for implementing their ideas, they relied heavily on the theories of the American John Dewey, (1859 - 1952) but soon found that his democratic ideas did not sit well within the confines of a dictatorial society. (Shimoniak 1970:31)

During the period of 1936 to 1956 there was a further implementation of the decisions and ideas expressed in the 1930s and many writers see this as a period in which education in fact shifted back to the more traditional pre-Revolutionary Russian education. It was a return to the overriding importance of subject matter, unquestioning obedience to authority and strict discipline.

At this stage industrialisation of Russia was given prime importance and the aim of education was accordingly to produce as many technological specialists as possible. Unfortunately the actual subject matter and the level of instruction was often not of as high a standard as it could have been. This could have been attributed to the Second World War which had lowered standards of education, discipline and morality. (Zajda 1980: 31)

## 5.6 EDUCATION UNDER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV (1953 - 1964)

Khrushchev, who ruled from 1953 to 1964, denounced all Stalinist ideas when he came into power and severely criticised the purges which had occurred during the latter's reign. He felt that education was not sufficiently work oriented and introduced a plan whereby students who wanted to study at tertiary level had to complete two years of working.

Khrushchev was also concerned with academic standards and reintroduced the policies of Krupskaya, Blonsky and Makarenko. He restructured the schooling system, converting the seven year schools to eight years and the ten-year schools to eleven years. The latter were however changed back to ten-year schools in 1964. He felt that the renunciation of the polytechnic principle of the twenties in education under Stalin, and which heralded the return of old methods of formal bookish education, led after two decades to the separation of education from society and from school life. (Zajda 1980:32)

During the reign of Stalin a gap had grown between a stratum of Soviet society which was no longer satisfied with the so-called egalitarian "... fusion of study and work" and the hard-core Communists. (Zajda 1980:33)

During the period in which Khrushchev was in power, he increased the attendance of schooling from seven to eight years. He also increased the number of subjects that a pupil could choose so that pupils were able to attend various secondary specialised schools, as well as technical schools and part-time vocational schools and colleges which were designed to train them in order for the needs of industry to be met.

The sphere in which the dogma of communism was most apparent was in the teaching of citizenship which involved political and moral education. In order for a society which is ruled by a dictatorship to be effective, political indoctrination is essential. In this way a continuation of the status quo can be maintained. If a child is influenced from pre-school to obey the rules laid down by society through a calculated and unswerving means, it will not

question those laws. It will follow blindly. Thus the power of the party is assured.

## **5.7 LEONID BREZHNEV (1964 - 1982)**

### **5.7.1 Curriculum reforms**

During the period of 1964 to 1982, when Brezhnev was in power, the moral and political upbringing of the youth enjoyed primary attention. This change in focus brought about major changes in school curricula. A great deal of attention was focused upon the mathematics and science curricula since it was felt that education had generally not fulfilled the Soviet ideals. These curricula now permitted more creative and challenging thinking. The Soviet elementary and secondary schools underwent major curriculum reforms which were designed to discourage rote methods of teaching that have characterised the nation's educational systems since the Thirties. (Jacoby 1974:241)

Unfortunately this was only applied to science and maths. When the Moscow Physical-Mathematical School No 2 started to produce outstanding achievers in this field the authorities were dissatisfied for they had heard that the school was a "...hotbed of political and social inquiry." (Wallace & Dunegin 1974:250) A year later the school was investigated after one of the Jewish teachers applied to immigrate to Israel and not long after that the school was closed. Ironically, the very attitude and independent thinking that the educational authorities had hoped to foster were now being condemned.

The other great reform came about as a result of legislation which shortened the primary phase of education from four years to three years so that formal learning of the core disciplines began after the third grade. (Zajda 1980:36)

Matthews wrote that Khrushchev considered shortening the period of time spent at school and tried his best to have this legislated. However, the opposition to this idea was so great that the 8th to 10th grades remained, as they were the most important preparation for tertiary education: " It seems that by the late seventies throughout the country perhaps sixty percent of the

15-17 plus age group were acquiring a full general education by this means."  
(in Tomiak 1983:2)

The number of pupils in the senior classes actually peaked in 1976 - 1977 but has declined somewhat since then, but this could be attributed to the development of other educational avenues such as vocational schools which had been reintroduced, as well as the fact that demographic statistics reveal that the number of sixteen year olds had dropped from 5.3 million in 1977 to 4 million in 1986.

It seems then that the expansion of schools levelled off, most probably as a result of parents wanting smaller families. Further developments in education at that stage involved the following:

- ♦ children would start school at the age of six, rather than at seven, which means that Soviet schools would be brought into line with Europe
- ♦ teaching material would have to be tailored to suit the needs of the younger pupils
- ♦ the school day would be lengthened to suit working mothers (in 1976 over seven million children fell into this category)
- ♦ schools would be enlarged and facilities improved, especially in the rural areas
- ♦ aid for the poorer children would be increased (Tomiak 1983:3)

### **5.7.2 Secondary education**

In spite of these ideals outlined above, the government was not able to implement them since the economic situation did not allow it. The following types of secondary institutions offered:

- ♦ vocational schools: These schools did not originally offer a school leaving certificate. Stalin had excluded vocational education from general education and established an entirely separate system called the State Labour Reserves, which offered short manual courses which were closely linked to productive enterprises. These never gained the popularity or the importance that Stalin had hoped and most workers in fact gained their knowledge on site. Khrushchev thus wanted to revive

this form of training in 1958 and by 1979 graduands had risen to 2.3 million. An innovation was the merging of the vocational curriculum with the general one so that students obtained a far broader education and consequently became more attractive to the public at large. In 1979 over half a million of students graduated from this type of institution with their school-leaving certificates

- ♦ the Secondary Specialised Educational Institutions (SSEI): These offered a middle grade specialist skill and took 8 or 10-year school-leavers, the former offering a full general education as well as some form of specialisation. The 1980 intake totalled about 1.5 million of whom almost a million already had a school-leaving certificate (Tomiak 1983:5)
- ♦ the part-time general school: These schools expanded to serve about 5 million pupils. They originally served to educate older people who had missed out on schooling but by the 1970s they were being less used than in earlier times and their numbers had dwindled somewhat. Correspondence schools were renamed "Evening" or "Shift Schools"

### **5.7.3 The creation of the "intelligentsia"**

In spite of all the changes that occurred from 1964 - 1982, the consensus seems to be that the senior classes of the general schools still offered the best education than any of the alternative schools and as Matthews puts it: "Of course, within each system there are hierarchies of quality and desirability. The degree to which this differentiation may be compared with that of bourgeois educational systems is a matter of considerable interest." (in Tomiak 1983:5) The reason for this statement is that higher education is of its very nature accessible only to those who are intellectually superior. Cutbacks in the provision of higher education means that the smaller the group who receives higher education, the more elite they are perceived to be. So, in effect, a whole new class is created: the intelligentsia. This was implemented further by the creation of "special schools" which originally catered for those gifted in languages or sport, ballet, art and music but were extended to include mathematics, the sciences and foreign languages.

(Rosen 1971:70) Most schools offered extra courses on all the above extra-curricularly on a self-financing basis.

Avis (in Tomiak 1983:218) notes the following about social class and access to higher education: "Access to higher education in the Soviet Union, as in other countries, has shown to be largely determined by processes of selection and differentiation occurring at earlier stages of schooling. The results of Soviet empirical research in the late sixties demonstrate that the path to higher education, starting from the earliest stage of a pupil's progress and career plans in the eighth-grade school, is rendered more difficult for some social groups than for others.

Great competition developed for university places and the traditional selection tended to favour pupils from more "cultured and intellectual" homes. Measures were then introduced to make selection more egalitarian, by providing better vocational guidance and the identification and nurturing of academically bright children in special schools and classes. But the increasing gap between the standards of school tuition and university entry requirements led to the expansion of pre-university preparation courses and private coaching. All these developments tended to reduce the chances of lower socio-economic groups obtaining a higher education: "Higher education during this period could be regarded as the biggest contributing factor to the modernisation of the USSR as a first rate industrial and scientific power in the twentieth century." (Rosen 1971:80)

#### **5.7.4 Education and political indoctrination**

Rosen maintains that the most characteristic feature of higher education under the Communist system "... has been the combination of ideological indoctrination (e.g. required courses in Marxism-Leninism, history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, etc., as dogma) and specialised professional training... and the system of enrolment quotas in each field to meet specific manpower requirements of Soviet industrial and scientific institutions." (1971:81) Morison writes that the most important political indoctrination occurs in the classes devoted to history and social sciences:

"History as a subject is seen as essential in forming a communist world outlook in that it reveals to the pupils the laws of history, of human development and of the class structure. It proves thereby that capitalism is inevitably doomed and that socialism will triumph everywhere." (in Tomiak 1983:158-9)

During an interview with a young Russian expatriate (Evgeny 1993) it became clear that the extent of indoctrination is so great and so insidious that he was incapable of accepting criticism of his country's communist system and regarded capitalism with scepticism and suspicion. He had attended a special school for mathematics and physics. He was glad to have left Russia, as he felt South Africa offered greater freedom when it came to making a choice for his tertiary studies. His mother, a medical doctor, had to take subjects such as political studies when she was a student which he felt was a waste of time when one is studying medicine.

The study of history is further felt to be an important element in the eradication of the old attitudes of the imperialist regime. Religion too, is shown to be "... historically the weapon in the class war of exploiters against the mass of the population. The reactionary role of the church in the development of culture has to be shown." (Tomiak 1983:160)

Education has thus deliberately been used to control thought. Just as education under the Tsarist regimes attempted to create a national system (especially under Peter the Great and Catherine the Great) it was considered a matter of fact that the state had the right to influence or even attempt to control thought: "Virtuous attitudes and Christian piety alone were not enough; devotion to the ruler was an essential ingredient of the system of moral training which they strove to develop." (Tomiak 1983:143)

The Bolsheviks, however, took a far more aggressive stance: political education is regarded as the most important element in their efforts to consolidate their power. This political indoctrination has not tapered off as

their power base expanded, it actually became more concerted and concentrated as time progressed for the following reasons:

- ♦ as a reaction against the perceived threat from outside the Soviet Union
- ♦ to eliminate anti-socialist attitudes within the country
- ♦ the need and desire to improve the work ethic and to stress the benefits increased production will have on all citizens (Tomiak 1983:147)

It is clear that communist dogma has an even greater hold on its followers than Orthodoxy had. It is a far better organized way and it effectively eradicated the old order as well as any who opposed it by inculcating its tenets in the very young. Zajda states the following: "Like religion, moral education in Soviet schools focuses on consensus, integration and goal attainment. Like religion, Marxist-Leninist ideology integrates the social group, since those who share the Marxist-Leninist belief system 'feel themselves united to each other by the simple fact that they have a common faith. ' " (1988:389)

## **5.8 MIKHAIL GORBACHEV (1985 - 1990)**

### **5.8.1 The restructuring of education**

During the eighties vast changes occurred as a result of socio-political and educational policies which led to the restructure of education. The "guidelines" which were printed in *Izvestiia* on January 4, 1984, "... referred to a number of negative features, serious shortcomings, and omissions..." that had developed over the years. This provided a "blueprint" for the restructuring of Soviet education during the next two decades. (Zajda 1990:80) Of particular concern was the quality of education, moral/political socialization, and vocational training. This was needed to counteract what was commonly referred to as the "negative" and "anti-Soviet" feelings which seemed to be growing and to "exercise greater control and influence over the formation of the 'new socialist' individual". One reason for this was that the years from 1964 to 1984 were characterised by economic stagnation and that the country had slipped into the sidelines in terms of world progress. (Zajda 1990:82)



Another rather more obscure fact was that the USA was attempting to upgrade education and the "... Soviet rivalry for superiority in technology, science and education might have been an important factor." (Zajda 1990:81) Gorbachev's policy of perestroika was initially regarded with suspicion and reservations. As far back as 1983, Yuri Andropov (who ruled briefly from 1982 - 1984) had already given an indication of changes to come, since he felt that there was a serious need to consider changing the system of vocational/technical education. Gorbachev's educational reforms of 1983 - 1984 were accepted in April of 1984 and his behind-the-scenes involvement with educational policy ensured his own "imprint on the implementation of the restructuring of Soviet education". It led to a greater openness and in education it meant the "freedom" (compared with previous times) to express views hitherto prohibited in the country. (Zajda 1990:82)

As far as the curriculum is concerned, it meant a decentralisation of decision-making so that more than half would be decided at regional and school level. (Horne 1988:342) Professor Gennadi Yogodin, who was president of the USSR State Committee of Public Education at the time (in 1988) felt that more money needed to be channelled into education and that the regions themselves would have to try and raise the money. He was not necessarily concerned with the fact that this might bring about inequalities in standards. The school committees in whose hands education lies consist of one third teachers, one third pupils and one third parents and the community at large.

### **5.8.2 Effects of the reforms**

The following effects of the educational reforms are of note:

- ♦ in 1988 the greatest concern was that continuing education was available to only 15% of the population. In contrast, pre-school education was "universally available". A great shift in values and ideals had occurred and this problem needed to be redressed: the percentage of students wishing to undergo tertiary education had changed to

81.3%. (Zajda 1990:83) This suggests that blue collar occupations were being shunned

- ♦ a sociological survey of 1985 reported that about 40% of parents did not want their offspring to become manual labourers and a further 33% indicated that they were indifferent towards vocational orientation of the youth: "The open dislike of manual labour and equally ambivalent attitudes towards blue-collar occupations shared by many parents, teachers and students suggests a growing 'embourgeoisement' of the Soviet proletariat" (Zajda 1990:83)
- ♦ these attitudes will result in a shortage of labourers which Russia cannot afford. This seems to be a problem of all developing countries: the aspirations of the public are raised through education but the percentage of available white collar occupations remains the same so that frustration ensues because students regard themselves above common labour. This shift in perception coincided with the rapid urbanisation of the population. Furthermore the ratio of workers and intelligentsia compared to the peasantry had changed from 50:50 in 1938 to 85:15 in 1980 (Zajda 1990:83)
- ♦ Teague (in Lane 1992:116) comments that the demographics of Soviet society had changed dramatically in the years from 1940 to 1985. These statistics, adapted from Davies (1978:32) can be seen in Table 4

### 5.8.3 Aims of *glasnost* and *perestroika*

The aim of April 1984 Education Reform was to improve education and the moral and political outlook as well as to streamline the vocational and general education schools so that their content would be less dissimilar. The most important aims of *glasnost* (openness in public affairs) and *perestroika* (the restructuring of the Soviet economic and political system) would "resurrect" the "New Soviet Man", a slogan which was coined in the 1950s. This would be accomplished by means of the following improvements:

- ♦ the quality of education and upbringing
- ♦ the quality of ideological, political moral and vocational training

- ♦ the quality of teaching, school programmes and textbooks (Lane 1992:84)

|      | Size of<br>population<br>(millions) | % living in<br>towns | % living in<br>rural areas |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1959 | 208.8                               | 48                   | 52                         |
| 1970 | 241.7                               | 56                   | 44                         |
| 1979 | 262.4                               | 62                   | 38                         |
| 1989 | 286.7                               | 66                   | 34                         |

**Table 4: The growth of urbanisation in Russia**

(Adapted from Lane 1992:116)

The general school would start at the age of six and would stretch over a period of eleven years. This was to improve cognitive and psychomotor skills. Day care for working mothers would be improved and the new four-year elementary school would thus hopefully improve their basic foundation in education.

These reforms all had one main aim: to induce, once again, a love for labour. The students would be expected to take part in practical labour, ranging from 10 days to 20 days, depending on class. To improve the technical and scientific expertise of the country, the senior students were to be encouraged to specialise in the sciences and mathematics. To ensure that the quality of education improved, the size of classes was reduced and the number of hours spent at school was increased by 30%.

Jankovic (1994), an expatriate Yugoslavian, commented that the standard of education was very high - the mathematics, physics and chemistry especially. The level of the work he has been doing here in South Africa in matric compares with what he had done in Yugoslavia two years previously.

#### **5.8.4 Problems resulting from the restructuring of the education system**

The following problems cropped up as a result of the changes in the education system:

- ♦ while the level of education in the cities appears to be high, Balzer writes that the "... figures that have emerged indicating the abysmally low levels of preparation of secondary school graduates in certain parts of the country." Although he is referring here to the USSR, his statistics are based on information gathered in 1987. Another interesting point raised by is that "One clear barrier to teachers in higher education wishing to improve their instructional approaches is lack of time and facilities" (Dunstan 1992:153-54)
- ♦ Jankovic (1994) too mentioned the fact that teachers were overworked. He attended school from 8:00 to 14:30 one week and the following week from 14:30 to 19:30; thus a rotational system was followed. The same teachers were expected to teach both sessions. There were approximately 2000 pupils in the school, and there were not enough classrooms. He added that they did not have any sport facilities either
- ♦ Kigel states that: "... the proposed reduction in numbers of students... has not occurred; instead their numbers at many institutions has risen, but numbers of instructors have remained constant, resulting in increased loads" (in Dunstan 1992:154) (See statistical details outlined in Table 5)

- ♦ the statistics in Table 5 correlate with a statement made by Jankovic (1994), who said that many young people did not see higher education as the solution to unemployment, as there was little work available for graduates. However, there was a growing trend to study on a part-time basis and to take whatever work was available

|                                | 1960 | 1970 | 1980  | 1989 |
|--------------------------------|------|------|-------|------|
| <b>Total no. of students</b>   | 593  | 911  | 1052  | 1050 |
| <b>Full-time students</b>      | 258  | 500  | 640   | 655  |
| <b>Part-time students</b>      | 77   | 127  | 134   | 102  |
| <b>Correspondence students</b> | 258  | 283  | 278   | 293  |
| <b>University students</b>     | 65.5 | 96.3 | 117.8 | -    |

(No. of students given in thousands)

**Table 5: The number of students enrolling at institutions of higher education (thousands) in the USSR.**

(Adapted from Mitter et al. 1992:54)

## **5.9 BORIS YELTSIN ( 1990 - )**

### **5.9.1 The collapse of communism**

Unfortunately the new measures introduced by Gorbachev did not bring about the envisaged changes nor the increased wealth or happiness that the populace had thought would be a natural result of his measures. There were grave and serious undercurrents that were threatening to destroy his leadership and jettison his proposals. The old guard lost faith in him as prices and inflation skyrocketed. The miners, especially, were disgruntled and unhappy. Their meagre salaries could no longer buy necessities and they started a strike with alarming consequences. Yeltsin, aware of these problems, used the opportunity to show his hand. A series of incidents in parliament revealed the distrust and lack of faith in Gorbachev and there were calls for his resignation. Yeltsin gained the upper hand and Gorbachev was ousted. A new era in the history of this troubled land with its seething masses had started.

There was a realisation from the top command, led by Yeltsin, that control could no longer be centrally managed and that the Soviet States who had wanted independence should be granted full control over their countries. Latvia and Estonia were among the first to break away and establish their independence.

Communism as a doctrine, a dogma and a way of life was no longer feasible. Seventy years of absolute rule had ended. It was time for a new beginning. Yet, as Conquest points out, it would be wrong to think that communism has died, for there are still many adherents to the beliefs and its resurgence cannot be excluded: "Its strength was an ideology projected by power; its weakness, that the ideology was erroneous, and the power never quite adequate." (1993:3)

This quote could refer to most of the dogma which the Russian people have adhered to since their origins, from the earliest days when the Russian Orthodox held sway, to the time of Peter the Great, who could be regarded as

the founder of the Russian education system, through to the Communist regime. The belief system, the dogma which played a major role in their perception of the world and the people in it, has been guided throughout by power seeking individuals, whether they inherited the power or whether they wrested it from those who held it.

The expansionist policies which have always been a part of the Russian drive to gain power, and which became more firmly entrenched under Peter the Great who needed an educated work force to build the necessary hardware for warmongering, was merely continued by the Communists. In a sense, the influence of the Church may have meant no educational development for a number of centuries, but simultaneously, it means that most development in all spheres were virtually dormant. When Peter the Great decided to relegate the Church to something resembling a state department and started to implement his own radical ideas, education became a priority. The years following his rule were marked by fluctuations in development, according to the beliefs of the Romanov dynasty in particular.

Nikolai Ryzhkov makes the following comment: "In our society the supreme ideology over everything else did in fact always occur... The priority of the ideology over the economy is not a trifle, not a detail, not a voluntarism, not the stupidity of some leaders or other - it is the essence of the model in which we lived. It is its mainstay." (in Conquest 1993:3)

### **5.9.2 The future of education**

Razumovsky writes: "... the worth of education in the opinion of the population has decreased. The quality of the learning process has declined in schools. requirements have been lowered.... On the other hand, general secondary schools will not remain uniform. There are many different special and privileged schools such as grammar schools, colleges, lyceums etc. which are appearing in our country." (in Mitter et al. 1992:58) This differentiation is seen as an important break away from the norm. It is also an important trend in vocational education at secondary level. The

democratisation of the economy and education means that new goals have to be worked towards.

How would this be accomplished? Again, Razumovsky provides the following insightful comment: "We preserve our socialist ideals, which are known as human values. Many of them originate from Christian religion.... we have to liberate ourselves from the primitive bureaucratic dogmas of the... 'unproductive barrack-communism'." (in Mitter et al. 1992:59 ) Razumovsky cautions against unrestrained changes in education as the modernisation of education could land in the hands of people who do not have the necessary expertise to know what type of education is desirable: "If we are talking about a new, free, creative generation, we must give them knowledge, culture, practical experiences, and the opportunity to develop an independent world-outlook, their abilities and skills. The formation of a good world-outlook is only possible by providing a variety of general school subjects such as literature, history, science and mathematics." (in Mitter et al 1992:62)

History is not static; changes occur on a daily basis and rapidly become the past. On 21 September 1993 there was an attempt to oust Yeltsin when he tried to dissolve the Russian parliament and call for an election. The country which once was characterised by a strong guiding belief in Marxist ideology is rudderless, with no coherent belief system which to cling to. Capitalism, like Communism, cannot offer a doctrine which can satisfy the soul and provide the moral sustenance required by a people so long held in the thrall of dogmatic beliefs which shaped their daily lives.

### **5.9.3 Beginnings of a new ideology**

The following ideological trend has been detected by Dunlop (1985:88-89) who maintains that in the absence of the rigid dogma of the Communist party, the ideological void is being filled by :

- ♦ a religious renaissance, propagated by the *vozhzhentsy*, who advocate a return of the family, schools and church (without



re-establishing the Russian Church). There is a large proportion of them who are in favour of a return to a monarchical system

- ♦ National Bolshevism, which at the time that Dunlop's book was written had no firm base. It was regarded more as "an elusive tendency of thought and sentiment." (1985:89) However, the strongly Nationalistic element which gained such a large support during Russia's Elections in 1993 reveals that there is more than a mere tendency towards accepting a strong dictatorship. Dunlop defines their aims as : "... a belief in the necessity of an elite; a cult of discipline, particularly of the youth; heroic vitalism; an acceptance of military and industrial might, often combined with strong ecological and preservationist concerns; and celebration of the glories of the past" (Dunlop 1985:90)

It would seem as if the invasion by the Russian army of Grozny in the Chechin province of Russia in December 1994, to quell the notion of establishing their own republic could be in response to two factors:

- ♦ Nationalistic fervour: Russia wants to preserve its territory and sovereignty
- ♦ anti-Muslim feelings: Chechnya is largely inhabited by Muslims

Only time will tell whether the Russian people will find a dogma to unite them all and to fill the void left by the collapse of communism.

## **5.10 SUMMARY**

The following summary gives a brief outline of educational developments and the most important reasons for its implementation and the reforms which occurred.

### **5.10.1 Education under Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1917 - 1924)**

- ♦ the education of the Russian peoples under the communist regime attempted to provide the country with an educated workforce who would be loyal to the regime
- ♦ since the Communists had no experience in education, they resorted to "borrowing" the more progressive theories from the West (Walsh, 1968:428; also Treadgold 1972: 349)
- ♦ Russian theorists who had a great impact on the early years of Soviet education were S.T. Shatsky (1878 - 1934), and Paul Blonsky (1884 - 1941) who emphasised freedom for the child, and later, Makarenko (1888 - 1939), whose work with delinquents had taken on a militaristic flavour
- ♦ during the Cultural Revolution from 1928 - 1931, the "project method" was implemented. Educationists assumed that students would gain knowledge while working with other students and adults in achieving the goals of the five-year plan, such as draining swamps (to eliminate disease) and the eradication of drunkenness and illiteracy (Long 1985:3)

### **5.10.2 Education under Joseph Stalin (1924 - 1953)**

- ♦ education under Stalin intended to provide workers so that rapid industrialisation could take place in the USSR. The Party leadership became increasingly repressive because they "... wanted adult workers who would do as they were told" (Pearson 1990:382)
- ♦ labour training, which had formed a part of education during the early years of the regime, was abolished in 1937. Traditional academic disciplines were re-instituted so that the education resembled that of the czarist regime (Long 1985:4)

### **5.10.3 Education under Nikita Khrushchev (1953 - 1964)**

- ♦ by the 1950s, there was a shortage of semiskilled workers. The Soviet secondary school continued to train students in the upper grades for university or other tertiary education. Khrushchev, who succeeded Stalin, demanded that the ten-year school be changed to eleven years. From

grade nine to eleven students would be provided with a general education as well as vocational skills so that they could be employable as soon as they had left school (Long 1985:5)

#### **5.10.4 Education under Leonid Brezhnev (1964 - 1982)**

- ♦ since the Khrushchev years in which many educational reforms occurred, there has been no radical shift in policy (until the end of the Communist regime). The years that followed his rule could be seen as an effort to improve standards of education and to implement the following aspects:
  - the use of the school as a means whereby the beliefs and policies of the Communist Party could be promoted
  - the belief that school work should be co-ordinated with youth (Young Pioneers), community and political organisations
  - the combining of general education with polytechnic education
  - combining general education with moral and aesthetic education
  - inculcating the communist ethics as outlined by Lenin as the prime objective of moral education
  - combining academic and communist ethics with practical application in socially useful activities (Long 1985:6-7)

#### **5.10.5 Education under Mikhail Gorbachev**

Prior to the 1980 when Gorbachev ruled, academic education in the senior grades was again emphasised and production training was abandoned. Certain changes were implemented:

- ♦ in the 1980s education was structured in such a way that students had to complete ten years of general education. The last two years may be completed at one of the following:
  - a vocational school
  - a secondary specialised educational institution
  - an evening or correspondence school
- ♦ there was a great emphasis once again on labour training as a result of the severe labour shortage during this era

### 5.10.6 Education under Boris Yeltsin

- ♦ Russia produced extensive reforms in its educational system: compulsory military training was abolished and attempts were made to reform the educational system
- ♦ there is a desire to get away from the rigid, text book domination of the past ( Blackledge 1991:272)
- ♦ by 1993 a central policy emerged:
  - pre-school starts at any age and school is entered at the age of 6 or 7. A 10 or 11 year course may be followed
  - the system consists of primary schooling to the age of 10, basic secondary education to the age of 15 and then either vocational or high school is attended
  - the curriculum consists of social sciences, humanities, economics, ecology and literature (Blackledge 1993:32)

The following problems still occur in the Russian education system:

- ♦ vocational education is not well established
- ♦ Russian educators have not yet realised the value that the West attaches to mathematics, science and technology is as a result of the importance of these subjects for the economy
- ♦ the Russian curriculum is still emphasising general basic education in humanities. (Blackledge 1993:32) The reason for this could be that they are attempting to free the pupils from their previously rigid curriculum and are trying to teach them to think for themselves

Russia is currently (1995) lacking a coherent dogma which acts as a cohesive force to unite its peoples. Capitalism cannot offer the necessary guiding belief structure and it seems that the rightwing nationalist factions may be gaining ground in an attempt to provide the dogmatic creed the people need to fill the void left by the fall of communism.

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## CHAPTER 6

### EVALUATION

#### 6.1 PROLOGUE

This dissertation has attempted to establish whether dogma has influenced the development of education in Russia. This influence has its origins in different beliefs or perspectives which were followed or adhered to by rulers at different times during Russia's history. The dogmatic beliefs of the rulers were thus not static: they changed subtly, depending on who the ruler was, what he believed in personally (for example Orthodoxy), and what he wished for his country (Nationalism). The thread of the dogmatic belief is nevertheless a constant shaping force, finding expression in everyday beliefs and practises on a mundane level. The dogma of each ruler is reflected in the development of education from the advent of Christianity in the form of the Orthodox Church, originally the Byzantine Church, to the belief in Communist doctrine during the seventy years of Communist rule, from 1917 to 1990.

There were other influences which affected the way in which a ruler held sway over the population, and these are autocracy, humanism, nationalism and communism.

The *Zeitgeist* or spirit of each era contributed towards not only the dogmatic beliefs which were held during that time, but also to the political changes which shaped the history and the education of Russia. Central to the idea that dogmatic beliefs influenced education, is also the notion that the *Zeitgeist* which is a subtle yet all-pervasive influence, played a crucial role in shaping education, frequently indirectly through the people who influenced



educational policy. An example of the influence *Zeitgeist* is how the advent of Christianity in Russia pervaded society as a belief which changed not only the faith of the Russian people, but also affected the way in which they perceived themselves, their society, their role in it and the lack of importance which they attached to education as a result of it.

Both the dogma and the *Zeitgeist* which is prevalent in the thinking of the time are dependent on the people, that is, policy makers who had the power to initiate change and implement their ideas in education. Their ideas were sometimes influenced by the *vox populi*, such as the Russian nobility who refused to send their offspring to be educated during the reign of Vladimir I (980 - 1015) or by influential thinkers such as the French philosopher Voltaire (1694 - 1778) during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796) who attempted to implement Voltaire's Humanist ideals and subsequently brought about changes in education, such as providing education for girls.

The influence of dogma on the development of the Russian education system has been apparent in the form of world or life views such as:

- ♦ autocracy
- ♦ orthodoxy
- ♦ nationalism
- ♦ humanism
- ♦ communism

The development of education has been outlined in Chapters 2-5 under successive rulers and this was presented in a linear continuum. A brief overview of this can be seen in Table 6.

| TIME                            | 980 - 1613                                     | 1613 - 1881  | 1881 - 1991   | 1991 -?   |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| <b>DOGMAS</b>                   | Development of Orthodoxy and Autocracy         | Growth of Orthodoxy and Autocracy; development of Nationalism                      | Development of Communism; growth of Nationalism                 | Growth of Nationalism; beginning of Capitalism? |
| <b>RULERS</b>                   | The Rurik dynasty                              | The Romanov dynasty  | End of the Romanov dynasty; beginning of Communist dictatorship | End of Communism                                |
| <b>DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION</b> | Schools run by clergy for children of nobility | Start of school system by Peter the Great (1689 - 1725); education for all by 1881 | Education for labour under Communism; eradication of illiteracy | General, vocational and specialised education.  |

**Table 6: General overview of the influence of dogma on the development of education from ca. 980 to 1995**

This chapter deals with the findings, conclusions and recommendations which have stemmed from the study:

- ♦ the findings are concerned with the factual results of the research
- ♦ the conclusion reflects an assessment about the facts. These are presented in a linear fashion
- ♦ the recommendation which contains a guideline regarding proposals based on the findings and the conclusion

## 6.2 THE REALISATION OF THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The aims, which were set out in paragraph 1.5.1 and 1.5.2 have been realised as follows:

- ♦ the research and description of the evolution of the history of education in Russia was accomplished through
  - the various influential personae who shaped the educational policies which affected its development
  - the *Zeitgeist* which affected these personae and which caused them to think and act the way they did
  - the dogmatic influences which affected the *Zeitgeist* and in its turn shaped the thinking and perceptions of the people who were instrumental in shaping educational policies
- ♦ the objective evaluation of the development of education in time perspective through the following periods:
  - 980 - 1613, which covers the early history of Russia and the First Muscovite dynasty
  - the rule of the Romanovs, from 1613 - 1917
  - the rule of the Communists, from 1917 - 1991

## 6.3 FINDINGS

This study has attempted to show what the influence of dogma had on the evolution of the Russian education system. While the dogma espoused by the Russian Orthodox Church had stymied much of the development that occurred, some rulers (such as Catherine the Great and Peter the Great) were not immune to outside influences which shaped their perceptions of society and education. Their contributions, as well as those of Alexander II,

formed the basis of education on which the post-revolutionists were able to build.

The Communists, on the other hand, had an ideal which was a primary force behind their educational developments. One can only conclude that without this rigidly enforced dogma, the developments which occurred may perhaps have been less successful.

### **6.3.1 Orthodoxy as a dogma**

The Orthodox faith was introduced to Russia by Vladimir I in 980 and it sanctioned the belief in autocracy so that the ruling czars and czarinas were able to hold absolute power over their people, especially from the reign of Ivan IV (1533 - 1584)

Although the concepts of autocracy and nationalism played a large role in the development of the Russian education system, the role of the Orthodox Church and the dogma espoused by its leaders had a great influence on the rulers of the country. Pares (1981:vi) writes that no story of Russia can be complete without taking account of Church history. He states: "Indeed it is at times difficult to distinguish the religious from the national; and though the church never did its duty in education... Orthodoxy was itself the major part of Russian civilization ..." (Pares 1981:vi -vii)

However, another upsurge in dogmatic thought occurred during the latter decades of the 19th century up to the 1917 Russian Revolution. (Maloney 1976:69) This could perhaps explain the reason why the ruling czars during this particular era again practised an inward-looking policy which had a negative influence on the development of education.

The Church enjoyed a short period of freedom after the murder of Nicholas II and the royal family (in 1917) and before the revolutionists under Lenin (1917 - 1924) declared an end to religious education. The decree of 1918 enforced the separation of schools from the influence of the Church and all religious instruction in both public and private schools was abolished. (Maloney 1976:74-75)

### **6.3.2 Nationalism as a dogma**

#### **6.3.2.1 Nationalism as an ideal**

If the czars had not so avidly sought to exclude all foreign westernizing influences, after the crowning of Mikhail Romanov (in 1613) when there was an upsurge in reform in all other areas of Russian society, education may have developed far earlier than it did. Peter the Great (1672 - 1725), the first czar to overturn many of the Russian traditions, was happy to introduce westernizing influences which set the country on a path of development unparalleled in Russian history (except perhaps for the communist regime). (Maloney 1976:40)

#### **6.3.2.2 Slavophilism**

This extreme form of nationalism surfaced in the 1820 to 1830 era when intellectuals, sobered by the acts of the Decembrists, believed that the future of Russia could only be saved if the traditional Russian ways and those of the Orthodox Church were to play a role in reforming Russia. They did not approve of the reforms by the more liberal czars, such as Peter the Great (1682 - 1725) and Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796). Although they wielded no real power or influence, their movement found expression in the Populist

movement (ca. 1880 -1908) and later, in 1917, in the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

### **6.3.2.3 The resurgence of nationalism in the post-Communist era**

The collapse of communism in 1991 has meant that the Russian people have no coherent belief system or dogma to follow. There has been a resurgence of nationalist sentiment in some more militant circles and this feeling could have prompted the military invasion of Grozny in the province of Chechnya in December 1994.

### **6.3.3 Humanism as a dogma**

Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796) was a follower of the humanist movement which found expression in the writings of the great French philosophers such as Charles Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) and Voltaire (1694 - 1778). Their ideas eventually led to the French Revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy in France, whereupon Catherine II banned all Frenchmen from Russia, and prohibited any foreign books from being imported to Russia.

The communists also advocated a distorted form of humanism as far as their teaching methods were concerned. In the early part of their rule, from about 1920 - 1930 the ideas of Western educationists such as John Dewey (1859 - 1952) and Maria Montessori (1870 - 1952) were adapted and used for a brief period when there were no absolute autocratic decrees from the Communist Party regarding the purpose of education.

### **6.3.4 Communism as a dogma**

There were three ideals which the communist dogma attempted to foster:

- ♦ the first ideal was to abolish the class system which had appeared following industrialisation in Russia. The ideal to create a classless society was to have been achieved through education
- ♦ the second ideal was to foster a love of labour in order for the communist regime to have sufficient manpower to fulfil their plans regarding the creation of a powerful nation
- ♦ the third ideal was to create a power which would eventually control the world and for this the communist party needed to create good communists who would not question the autocratic rule of those in power, but to obey. This was achieved through the indoctrination of the youth, through the medium of education

Czarist Russia had developed many procedures and organizations which the Communist regime was able to turn to its own use after it had seized power. The talk of "smashing the old order of things", although good propaganda, proved to be an erroneous belief, as the "... structure of the new state was rapidly being built on the remnants of the old." (Johnson 1969:260-261)

The new order brought a new system of dogmatic beliefs which they managed to enforce just as successfully as the Orthodox Church had before the revolution. Yet education all along has managed to allow radical thinkers to develop and it is these, who have managed to "slip the net" as it were, that became the leaders who brought about change.

### **6.3.5 The development of education during the Rurik dynasty**

#### **6.3.5.1 The early years**

The Khazars, who had settled north-east of the Black Sea were well educated in comparison with the Rus who at that stage, had no written language. The

Cyrillic script was developed by Cyril and Methodius (in ca. 855 - 885) which is regarded as the factor which enabled the Rus to become literate.

Prior to the conversion of the Rus to Christianity, there is no trace of any developments in education as a formal pursuit. When Vladimir I (ca. 956 - 1015) accepted Christianity in 980, he decreed that the offspring of the nobility should be educated by the clergy, but this was largely unstructured. The clergy themselves were poorly educated and not given to intellectual development.

The most important contributions of the Church were thus the

- ♦ development of a written language
- ♦ fact that the Church decided what was written (Walsh 1968:40)
- ♦ domination of education since it needed a literate clergy to carry on official church business
- ♦ sponsorship of the arts and letters, which means that developments on this front were largely religious in content
- ♦ setting of moral standards (although these values were slow to take root)

The most important reason that education was encouraged during the reign of these two rulers, is that their long reigns (35 years in both cases) were marked by long periods of political stability which means that the arts and literature were able to grow.



### **6.3.5.2 Dogmatic influences**

#### **6.3.5.2.1 The Orthodox faith**

The Russian Orthodox faith laid great emphasis on piety and devotion and did not recognise intellectualism as a specific reason for its existence. The Church did not actively promote education since salvation would be found through prayer, fasting and manual labour for the clergy.

#### **6.3.5.2.2 The Tartar influence (1237 - ca. 1480)**

The prime influences that the Tartars exercised over the Russian peoples can be summed up as follows:

- ♦ they slowed down the development of education by prohibiting contact with Europe. This affected Russia's educational, cultural and economic development. This meant that Russia was cut off from the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation
- ♦ the Tartars instilled in the Russians the belief in autocracy which was to become a feature of their rule during the Muscovite and Romanov dynasties. The khans believed that they held ownership over not only the lands that they ruled over, but also the people

### **6.3.6 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION DURING THE MUSCOVITE DYNASTY**

During the Muscovite dynasty, the Rus were subjected to increasing despotism in the form of autocratic government and Orthodoxy, as the Church had a strong administrative network which stretched into the rural areas. It also had a firm hold over education since it was the only body which offered tuition, but since the teachers who were clergy were themselves

poorly educated, the standard of education was low and did not encourage independent thought or individualism.

#### **6.3.6.1. The Tartar Yoke (1240 - ca. 1480)**

The Mongol invaders prohibited contact with the West which meant that Russia was isolated from the developments which occurred in Europe. The Church often acted as mediator between the Russian and the Mongolian princes, so that the Church became a powerful ally to the Tartars. The Church was thus able to consolidate its power during this period, not only because of its influence but also because it offered a refuge to many people during times of trouble, which increased the size of the monasteries and their wealth.

#### **6.3.6.2 Ivan III (1462-1505)**

Ivan III is also referred to as "Ivan the Great" because it was during his reign, in 1480, that the Mongols were driven from Russia. This was followed by a period of consolidation and rebuilding of Russia. No noteworthy developments occurred in education during his reign.

#### **6.3.6.3 Ivan IV (1533 - 1584)**

Ivan IV instituted a rigid form of autocracy which helped to protect the peasants against the nobles. This had three effects:

- ♦ on the people: It reduced the status of the peasants and restricted many of their rights
- ♦ on the Church: The Church became increasingly dependant on the czar for its national duties were emphasised
- ♦ on education: Schooling was still confined to the children of the clergy, but children of nobles were free to attend classes if they wished. The

predominant notion was that proper elementary education was not required since home education done by priests was sufficient. The need for secondary or tertiary education rose earlier than the need for primary education

#### **6.3.6.4 Boris Godunov (1598 - 1605)**

Private instruction continued to be the norm during Czar Boris Godunov's reign. He however, was the first czar to import foreign teachers and to send young men abroad to be educated.

Godunov perpetrated Ivan IV's autocratic control in order to secure his position and prevent others from overthrowing him.

#### **6.3.6.5 Dogmatic influences**

There were two major dogmatic influences on education during Godunov's reign:

- ♦ the establishment of the Church which gave rise to Orthodoxy meant that education was offered only on the level to which the clergy themselves aspired. This was generally low and little encouragement was given to the pursuit of intellectual inquiry and the spirit of free reasoning
- ♦ autocracy, the other guiding dogma, followed the example set by Tartar rule and was further endorsed by the Church. Czar Ivan IV started the nationalisation of the Church, making it dependant on the czar.

### **6.3.7 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION UNDER THE ROMANOV DYNASTY**

#### **6.3.7.1 Michael Romanov (1613 - 1645)**

Michael Romanov was merely a figurehead for his father, Philaret, who was patriarch, was given the same sovereign powers as himself. Autocracy became their guiding principle because they were uncertain of their rule and enforced their power to legitimise it. No developments in education occurred during his reign.

#### **6.3.7.2 Alexis (1645 - 1676)**

The following dogmatic influences prevailed during Alexis' reign:

- ♦ orthodoxy: The reign is characterised by frequent clashes between the Church and the monarchy
- ♦ autocracy: Alexis was an extremely devout czar who tightened his control over the serfs.
- ♦ nationalism: There was a strong drive towards expansionism of Russian boundaries

No developments in education occurred during this period.

#### **6.3.7.3 Theodore III (1676 - 1682)**

During Theodore's reign there were minor domestic changes, but autocracy flourished. Few changes were initiated in education as the Church did not really promote education.

#### **6.3.7.4 Peter the Great (1689 - 1725)**

Peter the Great was an autocrat whose childhood had contributed much towards his attitudes and beliefs which ultimately found expression in his interest in developing education in Russia. He did not support the Church and relegated it to the ranks of a state department. He instituted many reforms which were aimed at making society subordinate to the state.

##### **6.3.7.4.1 Developments in education**

Peter the Great's reforms made it necessary for education to be improved. His modernised army needed people who had technical skills, and his strong nationalistic tendencies meant that he wished to compete with the West by building a strong navy.

The following educational institutions were established:

- ♦ a naval academy
- ♦ a number of secondary schools
- ♦ the Academy of Sciences
- ♦ a medical school
- ♦ an academy for the daughters of the nobility

Few of these institutions were viable establishments since little elementary education was provided and there was a great reluctance among the Russian people to be educated.

Church schools fared better and 46 were established as well as 17 seminaries which provided teachers for both the lay and religious institutions.

#### **6.3.7.4.2 Dogmatic influences**

Peter the Great was driven by two dogmatic principles:

- ♦ nationalism : He constantly wished to expand the borders of Russia and to build up a strong army and navy (for which he needed educated men)
- ♦ autocracy: He wished to glorify his position as czar and did so by establishing a new seat of government in St. Petersburg. Many critics feel that little was actually accomplished by Peter the Great and that what he did, was mostly for his own glory

#### **6.3.7.5 The empresses: Catherine I (1725 - 1727), Anna Ivanova (1730 - 1740) and Elizabeth (1741 - 1761)**

##### **6.3.7.5.1 Developments in education**

Education did not develop greatly under these empresses and while some of Peter the Great's plans were put into operation (e.g. the opening of the University of St. Petersburg in 1747 and the University of Moscow in 1755 ) few new developments occurred. The reason for this is that both Catherine I and Anna Ivanova ruled for relatively short periods, whereas Elizabeth reigned for twenty years, thus enabling her to implement some changes in education:

- ♦ she established two universities
- ♦ she founded two gymnasia

These functioned to serve the interests of the nobility.

##### **6.3.7.5.2 Dogmatic influences**

The most important dogmatic influences were:

- ♦ autocracy (retaining the status quo)

- ♦ nationalism (as the latter influence once again saw to the expansion of Russia's borders through war with Prussia)

Education was regarded as a means to an end in that the military would be strengthened by educated officers.

#### **6.3.7.6 Catherine the Great (1762 - 1796)**

Catherine continued with much of the work that Peter the Great had initiated. She was an enlightened, well educated ruler who saw education as a means whereby society could be changed. Yet she did not bring about the social changes which could have freed the peasantry because she needed the support of the nobility since she was in fact of foreign origin and needed to pander to their favour to maintain her position as ruler.

##### **6.3.7.6.1 Developments in education**

A number of educational institutions were established, including two seminaries for girls. Others were:

- ♦ schools for children of all classes were founded in the provinces
- ♦ special schools for the sons of merchants
- ♦ the existing schools for the children of the nobility were improved but the standard of education remained poor since teachers were usually recruited from the theological seminaries who in turn, had received a mediocre education themselves

##### **6.3.7.6.2 Dogmatic influences on education**

Catherine the Great saw education as a force which could shape character and help to control the behaviour of people. She was influenced by the French philosophers such as Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) and Voltaire (1694 -

1778) who believed that mankind's problems could be solved through the use of reason rather than religion. Towards the end of her reign she became increasingly oppressive when the results of the humanists' credos resulted in the abolition of the monarchy in France.

#### **6.3.7.7 Alexander I (1801 - 1825)**

Alexander I introduced fundamental changes which were of great significance to the way in which education was structured and administered.

##### **6.3.7.7.1 Developments in education**

The following important changes were brought about:

- ♦ a Ministry of Education was established
- ♦ the school system was coordinated under a single body, and the universities were required to supervise the lower levels of education in the six school districts established by Alexander I
- ♦ each district was to have a university and each town or main centre was to have at least a four-year gymnasium
- ♦ each district would have a two-year secondary or elementary school, and each parish a one-year elementary school
- ♦ five more universities were founded
- ♦ the "ladder system" was introduced and curricula were coordinated to allow advancement from lower to secondary school

##### **6.3.7.7.2 Dogmatic influences on education**

Alexander I who displayed initiative as far as education was concerned, became increasingly conservative and under the guidance of Shishkov who was Minister of Education from 1824 - 1828. Religious piety and nationalism became important influences which affected his educational policies.



### **6.3.7.8 Nicholas I (1825 - 1855)**

Nicholas I did not agree with the manner in which education was managed. He believed it to be too liberal and disagreed with the "ladder system". He disapproved of students from different social classes attending the same school.

#### **6.3.7.8.1 Developments in education**

Count Uvarov was appointed as Minister of Education from 1833 - 1849 and a number of reforms were introduced:

- ♦ universities were forbidden to enrol serfs
- ♦ rural primary education was encouraged
- ♦ the number of Church-sponsored schools grew rapidly

#### **6.3.7.8.2 Dogmatic influences which affected education**

Uvarov is renowned for his basic principles according to which education should be fashioned, namely "Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism". These ideals were implemented in his educational policies. Despite the dismantling of the ladder system, primary education was promoted and uniformity in the education system was achieved.

### **6.3.7.9 Alexander II (1855 - 1881)**

Alexander II brought about many educational and political reforms during his reign

- ♦ he abolished serfdom
- ♦ he created *zemstvos* (elective county councils), a significant step which meant that rural communities could take local control in matters such as education

#### **6.3.7.9.1 Developments in education**

The upsurge of radical liberalism and certain social forces led to a number of educational reforms:

- ♦ the creation of school boards and local inspectors
- ♦ gymnasias were to provide general education and prepare students for entrance to institutions of higher education
- ♦ the establishment of another two universities (bringing the total number to eight)
- ♦ Sunday Schools were established in the rural areas

#### **6.3.7.9.2 Dogmatic influences on education**

The following developments are of note:

- ♦ although Alexander II freed Russia from the autocratic rule under which the people had lived during the rule of Nicholas I, the schools were placed under the authority of the Holy Synod, the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of Public Domains and Internal Affairs
- ♦ the broad aim of education was to strengthen the religious and moral understanding of the students. This was as a result of the powerful influence of D.A Tolstoi, who had held the office of Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod before being given the post of Minister of Public Education. His influence lowered the standard of education as he believed that the study of the sciences encouraged critical thinking which was a threat to the government and the autocracy.

#### **6.3.7.10 Alexander III (1881 - 1894)**

Alexander III was convinced that the liberal policies of his father were a failure. He believed that education was a threat to the monarchical structure

and the Church. He was greatly influenced by K.P. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) who had been his tutor.

#### **6.3.7.10.1 Developments in education**

The following developments occurred:

- ♦ education for the lower classes was curtailed and the universities lost much of their autonomy
- ♦ Count Delianov was appointed as Minister of Education in 1882 (to 1897), and he too, was greatly influenced by Pobedonostsev. Delianov tried to exclude the children of the lower classes from attending school.

#### **6.3.7.10.2 Dogmatic influences which affected education**

Alexander III was a nationalist who attempted to set back the clock to the days when autocratic privileges enabled the aristocracy to reign without interference from the lower classes. His restrictive measures attempted to re-establish Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism as the ideology for the masses.

#### **6.3.7.11 Nicholas II (1881 - 1917)**

##### **6.3.7.11.1 Developments in education**

The following developments occurred:

- ♦ in 1908 a bill was passed which was to provide free and compulsory education for all children aged eight to eleven
- ♦ a great increase in enrolments at secondary school level occurred. Although the State allotment for schools increased accordingly, education was still far from a priority in the budget

- ♦ this period was characterised by a great turnover in the number of Ministers of Education

#### **6.3.7.11.2 Dogmatic influences**

The most significant dogmatic influences during the reign of Nicholas II were

- ♦ Orthodoxy
- ♦ nationalism

During this time the Church had resumed a more traditionalist approach and this was reflected in the reforms which occurred in education, especially in the emphasis which was placed on religion and nationalism.

### **6.3.8 THE COMMUNIST ERA**

#### **6.3.8.1 Education under Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1917 - 1924)**

Narkompros, the Commissariat of Enlightenment, was put in charge of changing the education system after the Communists established power. They felt that a single education system should be instituted and that the new system should incorporate an elementary division of five years and a secondary level of four years' education.

The following people were influential in bringing about changes in the education system:

- ♦ N.K. Krupskaya (1869 - 1939) believed that the school should transform the child and help to create a worker who would be a motivated communist
- ♦ Anatoly Lunacharsky (1887 - 1933), the first People's Commissar of Education instituted the following:

- the nationalisation of education, which meant that the Church no longer exercised any control
- religious dogma would be replaced by communist dogma
- ♦ Stanislav Shatsky (1878 - 1934) and Pavel Blonsky (1884 - 1941), educationists who had been influenced by Leo Tolstoi (1828 - 1910). They believed that labour education could play a significant role in familiarising students with the work ethic and to inculcate a love of labour
- ♦ Makarenko (1888 - 1939) was an educationist who had accomplished a great deal with his militaristic style of education with delinquent students

*Narkompros* failed in its objectives since the general public still distrusted teachers and regarded education with scepticism. Students also denounced the new, modern teaching methods inspired by Western educationists when they discovered that their education did not meet the requirements for university entrance.

#### **6.3.8.1.2 Dogmatic influences in education**

The Communist Party attempted to implement their beliefs which found their way in policies such as those expressed by Shatsky, Blonsky, Makarenko and Krupskaya. The love of labour (and thus indirectly, the fatherland) was the most prominent one. Russia had lost much in manpower during the struggle to establish the Communist regime and in an effort to make it competitive with the West, it had to implement strategies which would place it in the same league as the West. For this reason the "project method" was implemented which forced students to partake in manual labour.

### **6.3.8.2 Education under Joseph Stalin (1924 - 1953)**

During the Stalinist era education focused on producing workers for industry. Labour training was abolished in 1937 and traditional academic disciplines were re-introduced. Education again resembled that of the czarist regime.

### **6.3.8.3 Education under Nikita Khrushchev (1953 - 1964) and Leonid Brezhnev (1964 - 1982)**

A shortage of semiskilled workers forced the introduction of an eleven-year system in which the last two years of schools education would provide a general as well as vocational education so that students would be employable as soon as they had left school.

The school was still regarded as the locus for indoctrinating the youth into being good Communist citizens as moral education was combined with general and aesthetic education

### **6.3.8.4 Education under Mikhail Gorbachev (1985 - 1990)**

#### **6.3.8.4.1 Perestroika and Glasnost**

Gorbachev's new policies of openness was to have a far-reaching effect on the population who initially regarded it with suspicion. This was a move away from the rigid xenophobia of the past and many Soviets regarded it with great distrust.

#### **6.3.8.4.2 Educational reforms**

A shift in values had occurred in the Soviet Union: the vast majority of students wished to continue with a more academically oriented education as opposed to vocational or labour training.

To redress the situation (which lead to a shortage of labourers) education attempted to:

- ♦ improve the quality of education
- ♦ improve the quality of vocational, ideological, political and moral education
- ♦ reintroduce a ten-year period of education which was structured in such a way that the last two years of schooling could be completed at a vocational school, a secondary specialised educational institution or at evening or correspondence school
- ♦ reduce the size of the classes and to increase the number of school-hours by 30%

#### **6.3.8.5 Education under Boris Yeltsin (1991 - )**

##### **6.3.8.5.1 New beginnings**

Under Yeltsin the realisation was reached that the Communist dogma would no longer suffice as a cement to hold together the Soviet people. The end of the Communist dream heralded a new era of struggle for identity and a dogma which would unite the people of Russia.

##### **6.3.8.5.2 Reforms in education**

Extensive reforms were introduced in an attempt to escape the rigid system of the past. In 1993 a central policy was introduced which made provision for the following:

- ♦ schooling starts at the age of 6 or 7 and primary education continues to the age of 10, with basic secondary education to the age of 15 after which vocational or high school may be attended
- ♦ the curriculum consists of social sciences, humanities, economics, ecology and literature

#### 6.3.8.5.3 Dogmatic influences

Russia is currently characterised by a lack of guiding dogma. Since the fall of Communism in 1990, there has been a drift towards capitalism and a stronger tendency by right-wing factions to reintroduce nationalism. Only time will tell whether the leaders will be able to provide the people with a cohesive strategy to help them develop a new life-view.

### 6.4 CONCLUSION

The title of the dissertation aims to reveal that a relationship exists between dogma and the development of the Russian education system as it had grown and developed over the centuries. This has been accomplished by placing it within the time and context of the historical figures and events that had an influence on Russian history generally. While the criticism may be levelled that a great deal of history rather than educational history has been included, it must be pointed out that the education system of Russia, and later, the Soviet Union did not and could not develop in a vacuum. It was shaped by the people who ruled and the beliefs that they held. The *Zeitgeist* has been an important factor in influencing the dogmatic beliefs of the people and subsequently on the development of education, the way it developed and the reasons it developed. The progress of the development of Russian education has been erratic and often retrogressive often as a result of the dogmatic beliefs held by the czars. It lacked continuation and proper planning (as during the rule of Peter the Great when inadequate primary and secondary education was provided and he attempted to establish Academies for the military which offered education at a tertiary level), but ultimately it became a system which fulfilled not only the needs of the State, but also the needs of the individual, as there was move away from the rigidity of the past.



## 6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.5.1 Russia

It can be stated at this juncture that the influence of dogma on the evolution of the Russian education system has been an important influence which shaped its development (and also retarded it) over the centuries. Yet, in spite of this, the grounding provided by the czarist regime has been of great significance and the Communist system of education has provided an education which is undoubtedly of a high standard (Skultety 1994), in spite of its policy of indoctrination. De Beer states: "Daar kan met groot vrug van talle aspekte van die Sowjet-Unie se opvoedingstelsel kennis geneem word. Die onderwyser se status en beroepsbekwaamheid speel 'n sleutelrol in die effektiwiteit van die Kommunistiese opvoedingspraktyk." (De Beer 1981:114)

The changes in government in the 1980s have initiated a trend towards greater autonomy and financial self-sufficiency and this in turn has meant a streamlining of certain structures, but it is still believed that combining studies with labour will meet the specific needs of the workplace. (Popovych & Levin-Stankevich 1992:8)

As far as Russian educational policy for the future is concerned the following points may bear relevance for the country:

- ♦ history needs to be re-examined so that an unbiased, objective account of both Russian and world history is taught
- ♦ vocational education ought to be stressed. Russian education should teach pupils the value of being self-employed and to identify skills which could be used in a competitive market-economy since the State will no longer be able to guarantee work for school leavers

- ♦ ecological education should be included in the curriculum to make Russia aware of global concerns and problems which also affect their country (Burrows 1994:54-59; Pearce 1994:36-40)
- ♦ science, mathematics and physics should still be given prominence in terms of keeping Russia abreast of Western technology if it hopes to compete in world markets (Fisher 1994:24-27)

Although these proposals suppose that Russia would follow the capitalist, socialist or a mixture of the capitalist/ socialist models which are found in the rest of the world, it is by no means certain that it would follow any of these models. The history of Russia has traditionally been one of openness followed by periods of xenophobia and it is likely, judging from this past pattern that Russia would soon welcome a dictator to rule the country.

### **6.5.2 The relevance for South Africa**

While this dissertation has attempted to demonstrate the relationship between dogma and the influence it has had upon the Russian education system, the kernel of the findings can be applied to South African education as well. For years the South African system has been based upon Christian National Education principles, which means that education espoused the values and norms, indeed, the dogma, of the Christian faith. Coupled to that were the principles of nationalism, as espoused by the National Party. This meant the apartheid was reinforced and that education for white pupils was superior to that of the black pupils. It espoused the belief in white supremacy and for more than forty years it reinforced this idea through education. With the political changes that occurred in the country, there is a growing tendency towards multi-cultural education and the knowledge that all races and cultures should be accommodated. While this is not yet a coherent strategy and one

which is yet to be implemented in all schools (since the majority of Afrikaans schools still adhere to Christian National Education because few have admitted black pupils) this is a move towards a new guiding principle which has as its underlying dogma that :

- ♦ all children have the right to be educated
- ♦ that children are entitled to receive the same quality of education
- ♦ that the diverse cultures should be accommodated and recognised as having value
- ♦ that home language should not be regarded as inferior to English

This is a more humanistic outlook than the narrow white culture-based education system that has been restrictive and exclusive. The country needs a goal, or a direction towards which a new education system can work. Education cannot exist in a vacuum, it needs a guiding force, a belief which can give the country a new direction. This needs to be a dogma that will encompass the diversity of cultures and one which will exclude no group. The reasons are that

- ♦ the economy needs to be stimulated
- ♦ pupils need to learn and celebrate their differences, rather than to denigrate them

These two principles need to be implemented in a cohesive policy which could mean that like Russia which is also suffering an "identity crisis" as a result of the breakdown of the Communist regime, South Africa needs to find its own African based identity. The Eurocentric approach needs to be changed to an Afrocentric one which will fulfil both the needs and aspirations of the diverse population groups, as well as the economy. This could be achieved through careful curriculum development and planning, taking into

account the various factors mentioned above. South Africa is, however, neither an entirely third world country, nor is its population sufficiently first world and a compromise may not necessarily be the solution to its educational and economic problems.

Whatever course of action the education authorities decide to take, it will be extremely difficult to satisfy the aspirations of the entire spectrum of society. Knowledge of education systems in other countries such as Russia could provide some insight and perhaps a measure of assistance when deciding on educational policy.

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